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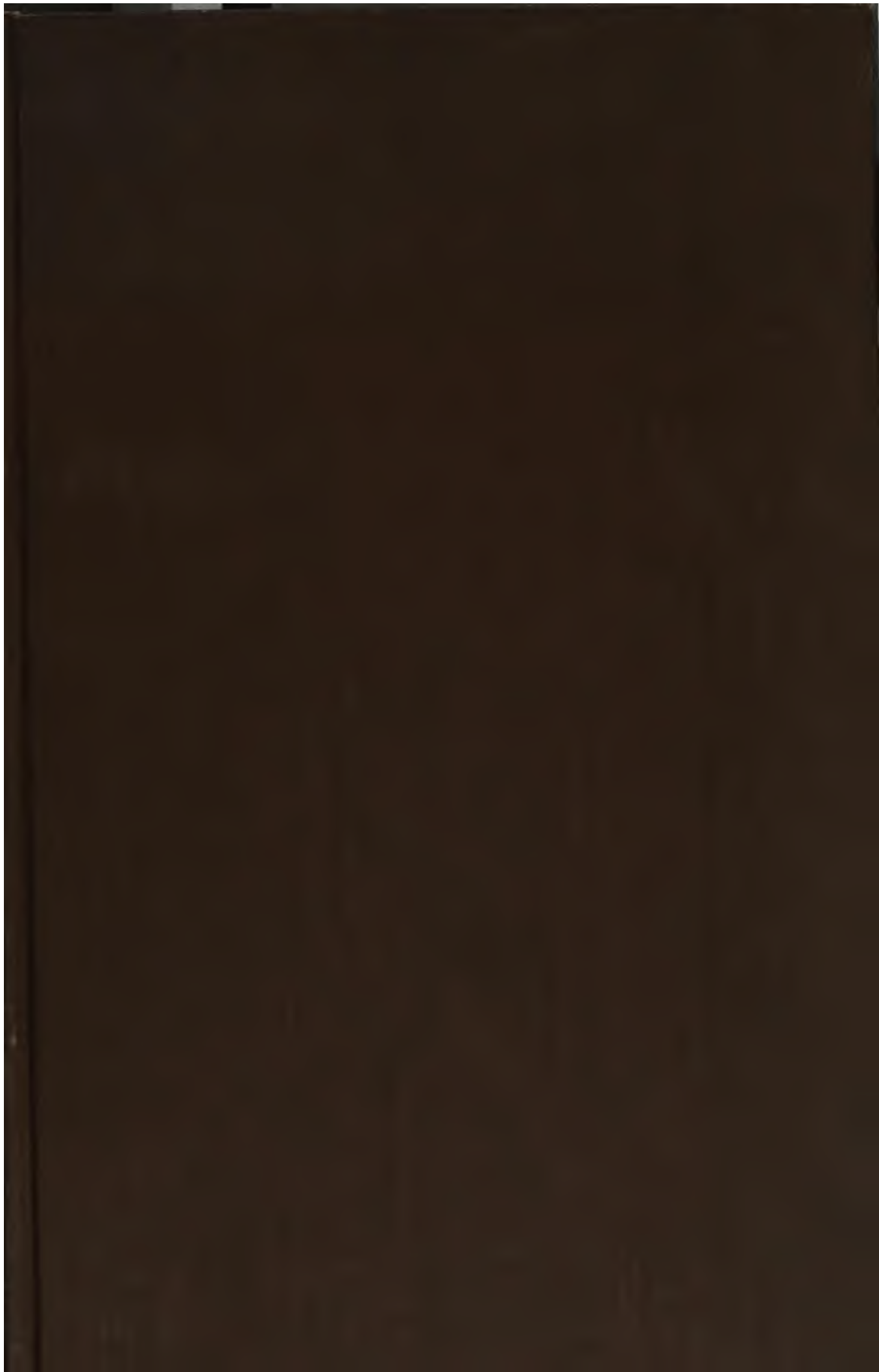
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To Robert Lewis Kennedy Esq.

With the Compliments of the Committee on

The National Colonial Convention.

Chas. Sumner Esq.



ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

INTRODUCTION AND ADOPTION

OF THE

"RESOLUTIONS RESPECTING INDEPENDENCY."



THE NATIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION.

PROCEEDINGS

ON THE

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

INTRODUCTION AND ADOPTION

OF THE

“RESOLUTIONS RESPECTING INDEPENDENCY.”

HELD IN PHILADELPHIA

ON THE

Evening of June 7, 1876,

AT THE

PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS,

AND ON

July 1, 1876,

AT THE

HALL OF INDEPENDENCE.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED FOR THE COMMITTEE.
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PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the month of March, 1876, by direction of the President of the United States Centennial Commission, an Historical Department was formed, designed to commemorate and illustrate the pre-revolutionary history of the country, by bringing together portraits of Colonial worthies, documents of historical interest, and personal memorials of the past; and Colonel Frank M. Etting was requested to accept the position of Chief. His fitness for promoting and carrying out this object was manifest from his successful services in the restoration of Independence Hall and the formation of a National Museum. A committee was selected with the approval of the Director-General, and efforts were at once made to gather together, in the brief time afforded, articles desirable for exhibition in the department; appropriate space having been allotted in the Art Building for the purpose. Subsequently, it was found necessary, owing to the large influx of foreign pictures, to cancel the allotment of space to the Historical Department; and thus, at the eleventh hour, the committee found the department at an end, and themselves with a valuable collection on their hands, but without a place to exhibit it. In this dilemma, application was made to the President and Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, who at once liberally offered a portion of their fire-proof building for the purpose; and the committee, consisting of Messrs. Frank M. Etting, James L. Claghorn, Francis S. Hoffman, J. Sergeant

Price, Frederick D. Stone, Charles Henry Hart, Mrs. Anne Hopkinson Foggo, Mrs. Katharine Johnstone Wharton, and Mrs. Mary Johnson Brown Chew, organized the historical "National Centennial Commemoration."

The time selected for the opening of the exhibition at the Academy of the Fine Arts was the 7th of June, the one hundredth anniversary of the day on which Richard Henry Lee offered in Congress the Resolution for Independence. On the evening of that day the invited guests, composed of the most eminent of Philadelphia's citizens, and of representatives from the mother country and from each of the thirteen original States, assembled in the lecture room of the Academy; when, after a brief introduction by the Chairman of the committee, a commemorative historical address was delivered by the Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Virginia. At the conclusion of the address, the exhibition was declared by the Chairman as formally opened, and the guests proceeded to view the collection, which occupies the northwest gallery of the building, on the second floor.

A large portion of the exhibition consists of paintings, and there is also an interesting collection of relics of historical personages. The western end of the room is occupied by paintings by American artists, designed to illustrate the history of art in America. It includes works by West, Pratt, Smibert, Copley, Hesselius, Charles Willson Peale, James Peale, Sharpless, Stuart, St. Memin, Malbone, Sully, Allston, Theus, Earle, and Pine.

The northern side of the hall is occupied by exhibits designed to illustrate the early history of the settlements at Plymouth and Salem, made respectively by the Pilgrim Association of Plymouth, and the Essex Institute of Salem. In the Plymouth collection are exhibited a number of interesting relics, including a table and platter which belonged to Miles Standish; a model of the vessel Mayflower; a portrait

of Paul Revere; the barrel of the gun which is said to have killed King Philip; a chair over 200 years old, which belonged to Governor Treat, of Connecticut; and a Bible which belonged to John Alden, who came over in the Mayflower.

The Salem collection embraces portraits of John Endicott and Simon Bradstreet, the first and last Governor of the Colony under the first charter; of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the patentees of Massachusetts; John Leverett, Governor of Massachusetts; Timothy Pickering, and others, while above them are draped the flags of the Colony. In the cases of the Essex Institute are exhibited a number of very interesting documents and memorials, including the Royal charter, under the great seal of England; manuscript record of the witchcraft trials, in the handwriting of Rev. Samuel Parris; the Christening robe of Governor Bradstreet, worn in 1588, and many others of value.

In the northeastern corner of the room is the collection made to illustrate the career of Washington, and which includes a number of original portraits by Stuart, Peale, Pine, and other well-known artists. There are also scenes of Mount Vernon, and a picture of the room in which Washington died. The case contains the miniature of Washington worn by Mrs. Washington after his death; the profile miniature on copper by the Countess de Brehan; the beautiful miniature by James Peale belonging to the Artillery Corps Washington Grays, and a number of others. Also, his spectacles, surveying instrument, silver cup and salver, portions of the dinner china which he used, and, possibly most interesting of all, a letter from his mother, Mary Washington, written to her brother in 1759, in which she speaks of "George" having left the army. There are but two letters of Mary Washington known to be in existence, and this the only one mentioning "George."

Benjamin Franklin is represented by an extremely interesting collection, embracing a number of well-known portraits,

the bust by Ceracchi, and a painting representing him when he appeared as the representative of the Colonies at the Court of Louis XVI. In the case is the original commission he received from Congress to represent the Colonies in France, together with his "Letter of Instructions," each signed by Henry Laurens, President, and attested by Charles Thomson, Secretary; also his Air-Pump and Insulating-stool, given by him to Francis Hopkinson; and many other personal memorials.

Maryland and Virginia are represented by a number of portraits of persons who bore an important part in their early history. Among these are portraits of Sir Walter Raleigh, Pocahontas, Lord Baltimore, Governor Spottiswoode, and Patrick Henry. Near by are cases containing a number of curious relics, including the lines written just before his execution by Sir Walter Raleigh, in his own handwriting, and interesting letters from, among others, William Penn, George Fox, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Rev. George Whitefield, Generals Braddock and Wolfe, Baron de Kalb, General Burgoyne, Lord Rawdon, and Admiral Howe.

In another case are exhibited the Strong Box of Robert Morris, with his original appointment as Superintendent of Finance; the silver shoe-buckles worn by Sam. Adams when he signed the Declaration of Independence; the Desk upon which Jefferson wrote the original draft of the Declaration; the wine-glasses presented to Hancock by John Wilkes, bearing the motto "Success to Wilkes and Liberty;" the spectacles of Wm. Ellery; the watch of Charles Carroll; a miniature of John Nixon, who read and proclaimed the Declaration of Independence publicly to the people for the first time July 8th, 1776, from the Observatory in the State House yard; the commission of Benedict Arnold; the MS. parole of Major André when a prisoner at Lancaster, Pa., February 23d, 1776, together with other souvenirs of this unfortunate and inte-

resting officer, and of many other characters of the Revolution; while, in still another case, are brought together costumes of the last century, household china and glass of the same period, and the communion service presented to Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, by Queen Anne.

The committee for the historical "National Centennial Commemoration," having charged itself with the duty of distinctly marking the historical epochs leading up to that which the United States Centennial Commission was formed to celebrate, and having commemorated the 7th of June, prepared to commemorate duly the 2d of July, the day on which was passed the Resolution for Independence, the reasons for which were adopted two days later. As early as the 25th of October, 1875, the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall had addressed to the most prominent American authors and historical students the following invitation.

"INDEPENDENCE HALL.

PHILADELPHIA, October 25, 1875.

To _____

SIR : The Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall have resolved to invite the presence of American Historians, Biographers, and Literati at that place on the second day of July, 1876. They desire that a Biographical sketch of every individual, whose memory is associated with this Building during the early days of the Republic, may be prepared and deposited on that day among the Archives of the National Museum.

You are respectfully requested to be present at Independence Hall on the day above mentioned, and to bring with you a sketch of the life of

or in case of a preference for another subject, to communicate the fact. It is desired that these sketches should not exceed two pages of foolscap.

With great respect,

FRANK M. ETTING,

Chairman of the Committee."

It was thought appropriate for the two committees to unite their efforts, and accordingly it was decided that on the adjournment of the meeting in Independence Hall, there should be commemorative exercises in the State House yard; and a programme was arranged, and accomplished speakers invited to make addresses. These proceedings commemorative of the 2d of July form the second part of this publication, which is designed as a memorial of the Centennial anniversary of the introduction and passage of "Certain Resolutions respecting Independency."

CHARLES HENRY HART,*

FREDERICK D. STONE,

Committee on Publication.

PHILADELPHIA, October, 1876.



THE

National Centennial Commemoration



.Anniversary of June 7th, 1776.

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS, JUNE 7, 1876.

████████████████████



1776.

JUNE 7.

1876.

REMARKS OF COL. ETTING.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

THE collection of portraits and memorials now about to be opened to the public is designed to supplement the National Museum in Independence Hall. The Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall and the National Museum Board, after steadily pursuing our purpose for four years, find ourselves cramped for room in the State House. More space has been promised, but cannot, notwithstanding earnest efforts to that effect, be had at present. Failing to secure appropriate galleries at the Centennial Exposition—though Memorial Hall had been erected by the State of Pennsylvania for this specific purpose—the Historical Committee applied to the President of this noble Academy, who promptly and cordially gave up adequate apartments. Causes, not now to be detailed, have induced the withdrawal of some of the States from participation in our commemorative work, but the Pilgrim Hall Association and the Essex Institute, of Massachusetts, aided by the individual efforts of the ladies of Baltimore and of Philadelphia, enable us to offer you a highly interesting and instructive collection. The intent of the Committee, as you are aware, is to trace the history of the country for nearly two hundred years from its first settlement in 1607, and while we revive every event in the progressive advance of true liberty, we shall be enabled to realize the vitality of the men—

the Founders of the country—in their persons, and thus keep in view as exemplars the principles for which they struggled.

Among the events incumbent upon us to commemorate in this Centennial season, is that which achieves its one hundredth anniversary this day—June 7, 1876.

The official record kept by Charles Thomson, and published at the time that tried men's souls, is meagre in the extreme—thus, "certain resolutions respecting independency being moved and seconded," etc. But I have before me an autographic tracing of these resolutions; it is in the handwriting of Richard Henry Lee; it reads—

"Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

Thus was taken the first step in the National Councils towards the birth of the nation. While we leave each successive one to be appropriately marked, we seem called upon to look at the promptings of this, the initiative. We find it was ordered to be taken by the Colony of Virginia, in Convention, and that, among the members of that Convention, one name stands out in bold relief—Patrick Henry. Who, then, so appropriate to recount to you this evening the events of our Centennial as his grandson, a gentleman who, by birth-right, preserves the private papers of Mr. Henry, while he brings to bear upon the investigation, not only all the energy prompted by filial duty, but the advantages of high legal attainments and experience. He is the namesake (and at the request of Mr. Wirt) of Mr. Henry's great biographer.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the pleasure of presenting to you, as the orator of the evening Mr. WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, of Virginia.

ADDRESS OF MR. HENRY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Permit me to congratulate you of the Committee on the happy conception and admirable realization of the design to aid in commemorating the birth of the nation, by illustrations of its early history. To be able to look on the noble faces of the great founders of our republic, preserved by brush and chisel in the hand of genius; to handle the familiar articles which they used, and which a pious care has preserved as Lares of the household, relics more precious than the heir-looms of princes, does indeed bring us face to face with the illustrious dead, and enables us to see, and to touch, as it were, the honored men whose names we have been taught to revere from childhood, the fruits of whose arduous and perilous labors we have inherited, and which it becomes us to transmit to our posterity, wasted by no prodigal hand. And while we gaze on the features of those who have shed such lustre upon our Continent and upon our race, how naturally are we reminded of the noble principles which actuated their conduct, and made them of the great men of the world—principles which they laid deep as the foundations upon which they built a temple for the goddess of Liberty, and which they commended to our constant, vigilant care, in those words of solemn warning, verified in the experience of so many nations: “No free government or the blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.” Let us honor our fathers, that the days of our freedom may be long in the land which the Lord our God hath given us. The day selected for the opening of this exhibition is peculiarly appropriate, as it

marks the time when independence was moved in the Congress of the Colonies, the final throe in the birth of the Nation; and I thank you for the honor done me in asking that I represent on this occasion the State at whose command the motion was made. If in doing so I should speak mostly of Virginia, it will not be from any intention of doing injustice to the other Colonies—each of whom has a bright record in the struggle for independence, but because the occasion requires me to speak more particularly of her.

The action of Virginia, culminating in her motion on the 7th of June, 1776, needs no justification at my hands to-day. Mankind have vied in her praises, and Great Britain herself has learned to honor her; yea, if we are permitted to judge of the councils of the Judge of all the earth, by the blessings which have descended, heaven itself has set its seal of approbation to her acts.

It is proper, however, as we stand here to-day to commemorate her motion, to glance, rapidly it must be, at the events which preceded and prompted it. When we look at the first settlements of Europeans on this continent in the seventeenth century, we find that they were induced by various motives. Led by the love of adventure, of wealth, or of glory, or driven by the lash of persecution, English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Swedish, and French contributed to the planting of a new nation on the virgin soil of America, which, assimilating its different elements, put forth a new and peculiar growth, destined far to outstrip the stocks from whence it sprang. But, by whatever motives impelled, and however diverse in their opinions, their prejudices or their manners, whether Puritans in New England, or Episcopalians in Virginia, Quakers in Pennsylvania, or Catholics in Maryland, all united in a common love of liberty, and a determination to try the experiment of self-government on a more liberal plan than had ever been attempted before. The elective franchise, the General Assem-

bly, the trial by jury, and the habeas corpus were common possessions; and possessed of these great characteristics and safeguards of liberty, far removed from the power of the mother country, under liberal charters, and stimulated by that spirit of personal independence peculiar to emigrants to a new and savage land, the Colonies soon developed into communities of enterprise, of wealth, and of singular attachment to free institutions; communities in which were read the works of John Milton, John Locke, and Algernon Sydney, and whose citizens held with them that freedom is the native right of man.

It was not long, however, before the wealth of the Colonies attracted the cupidity of the mother country, and one of the most memorable of the acts of that Parliament which restored royalty to the British throne, was the passage of a navigation law which gave a monopoly of their commerce to British merchants. This act, frequently amended only to be made more odious, was submitted to by the Colonies as an exercise of the power of Great Britain to regulate trade, and not until 1760, when it was determined to break up the constant evasion of the detested law by general warrants, authorizing search and apprehension at the discretion of the officers holding them, did the dangerous power exercised by the mother country become the subject of discussion and alarm. In resisting the issuing of these "Writs of Assistance," so repugnant to the British constitution, James Otis, of Massachusetts, the most brilliant of her orators, electrified his Colony. In his audience there sat a young man, his equal in genius if not in oratory, whose soul was filled with delight at the great doctrines of natural and of English freedom which the orator proclaimed; and who, at once throwing his whole soul into the struggle for constitutional liberty, himself with matchless eloquence stood forth afterwards a most distinguished champion of American rights. Happy Massachusetts! Happy

America! The electric spark emitted by the genius of James Otis kindled the genius of John Adams.

But the rapacity of Great Britain did not stop at laws by which her merchants and ship-owners might grow rich at the expense of her Colonies. Her treasury, exhausted by war, must needs be replenished, and the taxation of America was determined on. Liberal charters stood in the way, and these it was planned to recall, and to substitute in their stead one uniform, arbitrary system of government. To impose a direct tax at first was deemed too bold a measure, and the expedient was devised of a stamp act, which executing itself, and bearing but lightly in its collection, it was fondly hoped would arouse no opposition to its enforcement. On the 9th of March, 1764, therefore, George Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in unfolding the budget in Parliament gave notice that at the next session a bill would be introduced imposing stamp duties in America. The intelligence of this intention produced the profoundest sensation throughout the Colonies. The right to say through their own representatives what taxes they should bear, was one fundamental to the British constitution, and secured to them by their charters, and they could not admit that the British Parliament represented them who had no voice in the selection of its members, and who had their own Assemblies vested with the power of taxation. The voice of Boston was first heard in her instructions to her delegates in the Colonial Assembly, prepared by Samuel Adams, aptly styled the *Palinurus* of the Revolution. These were followed by the noble argument of James Otis, in his pamphlet entitled "The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved." The alarm sounded in Massachusetts was taken up in the other Colonies, and petitions and remonstrances against the proposed act were forwarded by the Assemblies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia. Their remonstrances

proved vain. But few voices opposed the act on its passage in the House of Commons—none in the House of Lords—and on the 22d of March, 1765, the King, bereft of his reason, gave his assent, through a commission. Had Parliament as well as the King been afflicted with insanity, no greater mistake could have been committed. The news of the passage of the act produced the most widespread consternation in the Colonies. Their views of their rights were unchanged, but it was one thing to remonstrate against a proposed act, and quite another to resist a law. The first was the right of every British subject; the last was rebellion. A sullen submission was all that could be expected—was all that could be yielded—but submission was deemed inevitable in every quarter.

The time was short when the dreaded law must take effect, and all they contended for seemed about to be lost, and if once lost, lost forever; for the principle once yielded could never be reclaimed. Despondency spread her black wings over the land, brooding despair, and the sorrows of death compassed the patriot cause.

“ Fear at its heart, as at a cup,
Its life-blood seemed to sip.”

Even the eloquent tongue of Otis, the great champion of American liberty, faltered; and admitting Britain's right of taxation, he deplored resistance, and thus gave up the great issue. All the hope he had was that a united, loyal petition might move the compassion of that Sovereign whose ear had been found deaf to the demands of justice.

But the Divinity that shapes our ends had ordered otherwise. God had not left Israel without a prophet. Suddenly Virginia was heard denouncing the law as “ void and destructive to British and American liberty;” speaking now, for the first time, through one whose trumpet tones echoed and re-echoed throughout America, where

“ Every mountain now hath found a tongue;”

arousing the patriot cause from its death-like torpor, and reverberating in the very palace of the British King, warning him that an outraged people had once dragged a tyrant from that palace to the bloody block. It was the voice of her

“ Henry, the forest-born Demosthenes,
Whose thunder shook the Philip of the seas.”

Had it sounded from heaven in the ears of the desponding Colonies, the effect could scarcely have been more sudden or more startling.

The pent-up indignation of America, which, like a black cloud overcasting the heavens, seemed slowly approaching the horizon to be

“ In the deep bosom of the ocean buried,”

as by an electric flash was suddenly discharged, and poured forth such a torrent as overwhelmed all who vainly attempted to withstand its flood. “No taxation without representation! resistance to the stamp act!” were suddenly heard on every side, and so terrible was the passion of the people, now thoroughly aroused and lashed into a tempest, that when the time arrived for the commencement of the tax no man in America was bold enough to act as the distributor of stamps. The British administration itself was overwhelmed, and, bowing to the storm it had raised but could not rule, repealed the obnoxious act. But the day-star of the American Revolution had arisen with healing for the nations in its beams. America had felt her own power, and henceforth it was impossible to rivet upon her the manacles forged by her tyrants. The ever-memorable action of Virginia was embodied in her resolutions passed the 30th of May, 1765, in these words:—

“ *Resolved*, That the first adventurers and settlers of this his Majesty’s colony and dominion, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity and all other his Majesty’s sub-

jects since inhabiting in this his Majesty's colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That by two royal charters granted by King James I., the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of denizens and natural-born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

"Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people of this most ancient Colony have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited or in any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the kings and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved therefore, That the General Assembly of this Colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

The author of these resolutions, which rent an empire, left a copy in his own handwriting, which I now hold in my hand, and, desiring to be remembered by posterity for this act, he claims, by the endorsement he made on the paper, that by their passage "the great point of resistance to British

taxation was universally established in the Colonies. This brought on the war which finally separated the two countries, and gave independence to ours."


I need not detail the subsequent renewal of the effort to tax America by another mode, culminating in the occupation of Boston by British soldiers, and the assembling of the Congress of 1774, in Carpenters' Hall; but I will hurry on to the events immediately preceding the day we celebrate.

The war between the Colonies and Great Britain was waged at first in defence of political rights, but with no thought of final separation between the countries, except perhaps by a few, who, endowed with more of prophetic ken than their fellows, saw the end from the beginning. Certain it is, that in all the public papers issued by those who had a right to speak for the people, the idea of separation was carefully disowned. The Congress of September, 1774, in its address to the king, used these words: "Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain." And the Congress of 1775, in its address of the 6th of July, setting forth the causes and reasons for taking up arms, said: "Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored." This address was penned by Thomas Jefferson, and was read amid thundering huzzas in every market-place, fervent prayers in nearly every pulpit, and booming cannon in the patriot army.

As late as the 29th of November, 1775, we find the Continental Congress declaring in their letter to the agents of the Colonies in England, that "There is nothing more ardently desired by North America than a lasting union with Great Britain, on terms of just and equal liberty." Nor did the Con-

gress alone bear witness to the desire of the Colonies. On the 9th of November, 1775, the Pennsylvania Assembly instructed her delegates to resist any move in the direction of independence. On the 28th of November, the New Jersey Assembly gave similar instructions to her delegates. On the 7th of December, the Maryland Convention declared that the people of that Colony "Never did, nor do, entertain any views or desires of independency." On the 14th of December, the New York Provincial Congress declared that their people had not withdrawn their allegiance, and that their turbulent state did not arise "From a desire to become independent of the British crown." On the 25th of December, the town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, instructed their delegates in the Provincial Congress to resist the formation of local government, "To show that they were not aiming at independency." The North Carolina Provincial Congress, in an address which was adopted on the 8th of September, 1775, disclaimed in earnest terms the design of independence. The other Colonies also gave full assurance that independence was not their desire. But the government of Great Britain was not content, and the king preferred American independence to the continuance of the connection on American principles. In December, 1775, was enacted the bill prohibiting all traffic with America, and substantially declaring war. The effect of this and other measures consequent, was soon manifested in the Colonies, and independence was openly discussed. Left without their regular government, they had, early in the war, resorted to temporary expedients, and thus had become accustomed to the exercise of independent powers, though in every instance the taking up of government was declared to be temporary, and to end when reconciliation was accomplished. The spring of 1776 found a great change in the feeling of the Colonies. All hope of reconciliation seemed to have been lost by the great bulk of the people, and submission or independence were the only alter-


natives left; but they still hesitated to take the final step. The Convention of Virginia was fixed to meet the 6th of May, and the elections of the delegates revealed the state of public feeling there. In many, if not most, of the counties, the candidates were required to pledge themselves to a final separation from Great Britain. As a specimen of the instructions given to their delegates, listen to the following from the county of Charlotte—my native county, I am proud to say—to Paul Carrington and Thomas Read, her delegates, dated 23d April, 1776, and the earliest move for independence of any community I have ever met with, which has been clearly established: “Despairing of any redress of our grievances from the King and Parliament of Great Britain, and all hopes of a reconciliation between her and the United Colonies being now at an end, and being conscious that their treatment has been such as loyal subjects did not deserve, and to which as freemen we are determined not to submit; by the unanimous approbation and direction of the whole freeholders, and all the inhabitants of this county, we advise and instruct you cheerfully to concur and give your best assistance in our Convention, to push to the utmost a war—offensive and defensive—until you are certified that such proposals of peace are made to our General Congress as shall by them be judged just and friendly. * * * * * And we give it you in charge to use your best endeavors that the delegates which are sent to the General Congress be instructed immediately to cast off the British yoke, and to enter into commercial alliances with any nation or nations friendly to our cause. And as King George III., of Great Britain, has manifested deliberate enmity towards us, and, under the character of a parent, persists in behaving as a tyrant, that they, in our behalf, renounce allegiance to him forever; and that, taking the God of heaven to be our king, and depending on his protection and assistance, they plan out that form of government which may the most effectually



secure to us the enjoyment of our civil and religious rights and principles to the latest posterity."

Brave words from the grand old county of Charlotte! Well worthy to become the last resting-place of him who "gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution." Elected by such constituents the convention could not be other than a noble body. It was looked to by all the Colonies with the earnest expectation that the wisdom of its councils might resolve their doubts as to the course to be pursued. Richard Henry Lee, not knowing that he might be able to leave his seat in Congress to attend its sessions, wrote to Patrick Henry from Philadelphia on the 20th of April, 1776, to urge that the decisive step be taken. Said he: "I invite your attention to the most important concerns of our approaching convention. Ages yet unborn, and millions existing at present, may rue or bless that assembly, on which their happiness or misery will so eminently depend. Virginia has hitherto taken the lead in great affairs, and many now look to her with anxious expectation, hoping that the spirit, wisdom, and energy of her councils will arouse America from the fatal lethargy into which feebleness, folly, and interested views of the proprietary governments, with the aid of Tory machinations, have thrown her most unhappily." After arguing the necessity of immediately declaring Independence, forming a permanent government, and seeking foreign alliances, he adds: "This I take to be the time and thing meant by Shakspeare, when he says, 'There is a tide in the affairs men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; that omitted, we are ever after bound in shallows.'"

And, in truth, no nobler band of patriots ever met together than assembled in that convention. Its roll contained nearly all of the great men of Virginia, at a time when Virginia would not suffer in comparison with any State, ancient or modern. Listen to the names of some of the most conspic-



uous: Edmund Pendleton, Richard Bland, Robert Carter Nicholas, John Blair, Edmund Randolph, William Cabell, Henry Tazewell, Benjamin Harrison, Archibald Cary, George Wythe, Thomas Nelson, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry. One name, the grandest of all, was missing from its accustomed place on that roll, but Virginia had given her Washington to America, that like a saviour he might lead her through the "Valley of the shadow of death," to glorious victory and peace, and he was now at the head of her armies—

"Our tower of strength,
Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew."


The honor of presiding over the convention was conferred on Edmund Pendleton. On the 14th of May, the body sat as a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Colony, with Archibald Cary in the chair. On that day General Thomas Nelson, the most popular man in the Colony, of unbounded generosity, fortitude, and patriotism, moved the following resolves, which had been drawn by Edmund Pendleton:—

"Forasmuch as all the endeavors of the United Colonies, by the most decent representation and petitions to the king and parliament of Great Britain, to restore peace and security to America under the British government, and a reunion with that people upon just and liberal terms, instead of a redress of grievances, have produced from an imperious and vindictive administration increased insult, oppression, and a vigorous attempt to effect our total destruction; by a late act all these colonies are declared to be in rebellion, and out of the protection of the British crown; our properties subjected to confiscation; our people, when captivated, compelled to join in the murder and plunder of their relatives and countrymen, and all former rapine and oppression of Americans declared legal and just; fleets and armies are raised, and the aid of

foreign troops engaged to assist these destructive purposes. The King's representative in this Colony hath not only withheld all powers of government from operating for our safety, but, having retired on board an armed ship, is carrying on a piratical and savage war against us, tempting our slaves by every artifice to resort to him, and training and employing them against their masters. In this state of extreme danger we have no alternative left but an abject submission to the will of these overbearing tyrants, or a total separation from the crown and government of Great Britain, uniting and exerting the strength of all America for defence, and forming alliances with foreign powers for commerce and aid in war. Wherefore, appealing to the Searcher of Hearts for the sincerity of former declarations, expressing our desire to preserve the connection with that nation, and that we are driven from that inclination by their wicked councils and the eternal laws of self-preservation,


“Resolved unanimously, That the delegates appointed to represent this Colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to or dependence upon the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this Colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by Congress for forming foreign alliances and a confederation of the colonies at such time and in the manner as to them shall seem best. Provided, that the power of forming government for, and the regulations of, the internal concerns of each Colony be left to the respective Colonial Legislatures.

“Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration of Rights and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this Colony, and to secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.”



These resolutions were discussed on that and the succeeding day in Committee of the Whole, and on the 15th of May were reported to the House, according to custom, by Archibald Cary, who had presided over the committee, and the record shows they were unanimously agreed to by the House, 112 members being present.

From an oration delivered by Edmund Randolph at the grave of Edmund Pendleton, and from a fragment of a hitherto unpublished manuscript history of Virginia by the same eminent person, I am enabled to give you a sketch of this memorable occasion. Says Edmund Randolph: "When the disposition of the people as exhibited by their representatives could not be mistaken, Henry had full indulgence of his own private judgment, and he concerted with Nelson that he (Nelson) should introduce the question of independence, and that Henry should enforce it. Nelson affected nothing of oratory, except what ardent feelings might inspire, and, characteristic of himself, he had no fears of his own with which to temporize, and supposing that others ought to have none, he passed over the probabilities of foreign aid, stepped lightly on the difficulties of procuring military stores and the inexperience of officers and soldiers, but pressed a declaration of independence, upon what with him were incontrovertible grounds, that we were oppressed, had humbly supplicated a redress of grievances which had been refused with insult; and that to return from battle against the sovereign with the cordiality of subjects was absurd. It was expected that a declaration of independence would certainly be passed, and for obvious reasons Mr. Henry seemed allotted to crown his political conduct with this supreme stroke. And yet for a considerable time he talked of the subject as critical, but without committing himself by a pointed avowal in its favor or a pointed repudiation of it. He thought that a course which put at stake the lives and fortunes of the people should



appear to be their own act, and that he ought not to place upon the responsibility of his eloquence a revolution of which the people might be wearied after the present stimulus should cease to operate. But after some time he appeared in an element for which he was born. To cut the knot which calm prudence was puzzled to untie was worthy of the magnificence of his genius. He entered into no subtlety of reasoning, but was aroused by the now apparent spirit of the people. As a pillar of fire, which, notwithstanding the darkness of the prospect, would conduct to the promised land, he inflamed, and was followed by the convention. His eloquence unlocked the secret springs of the human heart, robbed danger of all its terror, and broke the keystone in the arch of royal power." Opposition had been manifested to the motion in the Committee of the Whole, but, overwhelmed and led captive by the orator, it but swelled his triumph.

It is the distinguished honor of Virginia that by her resolution of May, 1765, she commenced, and by her resolutions of May, 1776, she completed, the American Revolution, for all that remained was to maintain the position she had reached. She has not, however, been so fortunate as to wear her honors unchallenged. John Adams in 1818, upon the appearance of Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, denied that Henry's resolutions of May, 1765, commenced the revolution, and claimed that James Otis, in resisting writs of assistance in 1761, was entitled to that honor. The venerable patriot had permitted his zeal for Massachusetts to mislead him, and claimed for another what he had yielded to Mr. Henry in 1776. On the 3d of June of that year he wrote to Mr. Henry these words: "I know of none so competent to the task (of framing a constitution for Virginia) as the author of the first Virginia resolutions against the stamp act, who will have the glory with posterity of beginning and concluding this great revolution."


The honor of being the first to propose independence has

been contested by North Carolina, which claims a prior declaration, but this claim has been so completely overthrown by my learned and venerable friend, the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, in his "Discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776," that I need only state very briefly some of the grounds for disallowing it. It is claimed that the Committee of Mecklenburg County, in North Carolina, on the 20th of May, 1775, unanimously declared that county "sovereign, free, and independent, and absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown," and adopted laws, and appointed officers to execute them. It is not pretended that this proceeding was ever published till 1819, forty-four years afterwards, when a copy was said to be found in the handwriting of the secretary of the meeting, J. McNitt Alexander, who was dead, and who had made a memorandum on the paper stating "that it might not be literally correct, though fundamentally, as the original papers were burned." The following facts are undoubted: On the 31st of May, 1775, at the same place, the same Committee passed a very different set of resolutions, which were published at the time in several newspapers, and denounced by the governor of the State, providing for a temporary government of the county, and for officers to be selected in a different way, and expressly limiting the operation of their resolves "till Great Britain should resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America," a course taken in nearly every Colony. On the 23d of August, 1775, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina subscribed a test, required of its members by that body, which distinctly professes allegiance to the British crown; and Thomas Polk, John Phifer, and J. McNitt Alexander, the delegates from Mecklenburg County, and members of its county committee present on the 20th of May preceding, signed this test. On the 4th of September the same body voted that the plan of general confederation between the United Colonies was not then eligible, and "that the present association ought to be

further relied on for bringing about a reconciliation with the parent State." And on the 8th of September, the same body unanimously adopted an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain—of course voted for by the Mecklenburg delegates whom I have mentioned—in which it is said: "We have been told that independence is our object; that we seek to shake off all connection with the parent State. Cruel suggestion! Do not all our professions, all our actions, uniformly contradict this? We again declare, and invoke that Almighty Being who searches the recesses of the human heart, and knows our most secret intentions, that it is our most earnest wish and prayer to be restored, with the other United Colonies, to the state in which we and they were placed before the year 1763."

If, then, the county of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, through its county Committee, made a declaration of final separation and independence on the 20th of May, 1775—which has not been proven as yet—it appears that eleven days afterwards the same Committee at the same place repudiated it, and three of its members, among them its secretary, on whose loose memory it is now sought to establish it, on the 24th of August and the 8th of September following, by their signatures and votes in the Provincial Congress, expressly denied that they had ever intended independence. With all due respect to our North Carolina cousins, I may be permitted to say, that such a declaration of independence, if established, is nothing to boast of. Before the cock crew twice, they had denied it thrice.

Equally groundless is the attempt of North Carolina to supplement her claim by quoting the instructions to her delegates in the Continental Congress, passed the 12th of April, 1776. These instructions merely removed her previous restrictions, and empowered the North Carolina delegates in Congress "to concur with the delegates of the other Colonies in declaring independence," but leaving the matter to their discretion—a



discretion which the delegates from some of the other Colonies already had.

The Virginia Convention entrusted her command to Thomas Nelson, one of her delegates to Congress, and upon his arrival in Philadelphia, Richard Henry Lee was selected to make the motion. Nor could this honor have been more worthily bestowed. Of honored ancestry, large fortune, splendid intellect, and ample learning, from the time he offered his youthful sword to the unfortunate Braddock he had been conspicuous for his public spirit, and had early taken rank with the foremost of the American patriots. Tall and commanding in person, with the noble countenance of a Roman, the courage of a Cæsar, and the eloquence of a Cicero, at the bidding of Virginia, he arose on the 7th day of June, 1776, and in her name urged his countrymen no longer to hesitate, but pressing forward, to cross the Rubicon, and secure to themselves and to their posterity those inalienable rights bestowed upon them by their Creator. He moved, in the language of the Virginia Convention, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances; that a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation." The motion was seconded by "glorious old John Adams," and Massachusetts stood by the side of Virginia. Her ardent and eloquent son proved himself the colossus of the debate which followed and continued through several days. Nor was Pennsylvania content to be represented by her halting Dickinson, but her ardent patriotism found utterance through her profound philosopher and statesman, Benjamin Franklin, whose words of

distilled wisdom fell from his lips like proverbs from the pen of Solomon. Of the eloquent speech with which Mr. Lee introduced the resolution of independence only a faint outline has been preserved. It is claimed by the historian, however, to be substantially correct. Of this I will only detain you with an extract: "The question," said he, "is not whether we shall acquire an increase of territorial dominion, or wickedly wrest from others their just possessions, but whether we shall preserve or lose forever that liberty which we have inherited from our ancestors, which we have pursued across tempestuous seas, and which we have defended in this land against barbarous men, ferocious beasts, and an inclement sky. And if so many and distinguished praises have always been lavished upon the generous defenders of Greek and Roman liberty, what shall be said of us who defend a liberty which is founded, not on the capricious will of an unstable multitude, but upon immutable statutes and titular laws; not that which was the exclusive privilege of a few patricians, but that which is the property of all; not that which was stained by iniquitous ostracisms, or the horrible decimation of armies, but that which is pure, temperate, and gentle, and conformed to the civilization of the age? Animated by liberty, the Greeks repulsed the innumerable army of Persians; sustained by the love of independence the Swiss and the Dutch humbled the power of Austria by memorable defeats, and conquered a rank among nations. But the sun of America also shines upon the heads of the brave; the point of our weapons is no less formidable than theirs; here also the same union prevails, the same contempt of danger and of death, in asserting the cause of country. Why then do we longer delay? Why still deliberate? Let this happy day give birth to the American Republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of law. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of

freedom that may exhibit a contrast, in the felicity of the citizen, to the ever-increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum, where the unhappy may find solace and the persecuted repose. She invites us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant, which first sprang and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race. If we are not this day wanting in our duty to our country, the names of American legislators of 1776 will be placed by posterity at the side of those of Theseus, of Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been and forever will be dear to virtuous men!"

But it is not for me to trace the history of the motion to its grand consummation on the 4th of July, nor to tell of the expenditure of blood and treasure, freely offered, in establishing it before all the world against the most powerful nation of the earth. Virginia moved, and America established independence and regulated liberty. Vitalized and directed by the heaven-born principles of liberty and order, our development and growth have surpassed that of all other nations of the earth, though scarcely out of our infancy, and to-day we give undoubted evidence that in all that makes a nation great we rank with the foremost.

✓ Fellow-citizens of these United States: In this year of the celebration of the birth of the nation, let us recur to the fundamental principles underlying and supporting our institutions, and to which we owe our greatness. Let us look well to the title-deeds of our liberties, and restore the ancient landmarks where they have been removed. Let us transmit to our posterity in its integrity the rich heritage received from our fathers; and may the God of our fathers be our God, and pre-

serve our civil and religious liberties to us, and to our children, and to our children's children, till time shall be no more, and the Sun of Righteousness shall be seen purpling the east—pencilling the day-dawn of perfect liberty and perfect order.

“ Yea, Truth and Justice then,
Will down return to men,
Orb'd in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing,
Mercy will sit between,
Throned in celestial sheen,
With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering;
And heaven as at some festival,
Will open wide the gates of her high palace-hall.”



THE
National Centennial Commemoration



Anniversary of July 2d, 1776.

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

HALL OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 1, 1876.



1776.

JULY 2.

1876.

ON the morning of Saturday, July 1st, there assembled at Independence Hall, in the room occupied by the National Museum, those persons who had been invited to contribute biographical sketches of the men of the Revolutionary period, where they were received by the ladies of the Board of Management, and by the Committee on the National Centennial Commemoration.

At 11.30 A. M. the doors of Independence Chamber were thrown open, and the American authors and antiquaries of 1876, passed into the shrine of liberty as a chorus of fifty voices rendered Whittier's great Centennial Hymn.

The Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, accompanied by the Mayor of the city, who occupied seats on either side of the President's chair and table, leaving the former significantly vacant, immediately arose, and Colonel Frank M. Etting, Chairman of the Committees on the Restoration of Independence Hall and of the National Centennial Commemoration, addressed the assemblage.

ADDRESS OF COL. ETTING.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

On behalf of the city of Philadelphia, as well as of the Committees on Restoration of Independence Hall, and of the National Centennial Commemoration, I bid you welcome to this room. As the result of four years' labor we seek to present

to you no mere spectacle of physical sight, but to afford you the means of a *spiritual* vision that will enable you to see through a century. Yonder parchment brought back by us, scarce bears trace of the signatures, the execution of which made fifty-six names imperishable. This table is no longer surrounded, *in the flesh*, by Hancock, Franklin, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, the Adamses, and the host of patriots who clustered here in June and July, 1776. These chairs that once were theirs are now vacant. Everything that was perishable has passed away, and what is left to us we may truly say has put on immortality. The "rising sun" of liberty and of perfect union, which Franklin pointed out to Jefferson as depicted upon the back of this very chair, when occupied by Washington in 1787, as President of the Convention for framing the Constitution of the United States, now shines undimmed by the shadow of any subsequent event, since we have permitted no trace of any memorial to remain in this chamber that can recall any sectional differences. All the associations that here present themselves to you are intended to enable each individual for himself to exercise the miraculous touch, to once more "set upon their feet" the Founders of the Republic. The actual lineaments of their faces are shown upon these walls, and every material adjunct in the adoption of our Magna Charta has now been returned to its former place of use. You, ladies and gentlemen, have done the rest. You have shown us in prose and in verse how these men lived, and how they moved, and what they struggled for. Thus, in the whole category of events of our Centennial epoch, there is no commemoration of greater significance than the very act of your assembling in this chamber.

It was here just one hundred years ago to-day that the Founders of the Republic met together, predetermined to call into being a new power upon the earth. At the instance of one of their number the final vote was put off until the


morrow. Thus it was on the SECOND of July, 1776, that the final act was done—the United States became a Nation.

You, of all the citizens of the United States; come here to-day to build up a CENOTAPH of letters to the memory of those men the like of which is not afforded in the history of the world—no rain, no sun can ever reach it, and it must endure as long as Liberty and the English language survive.

If it be permitted to departed spirits again to visit the scenes of their earthly work, may we not invoke the shade of Washington again to occupy the President's chair, and to summon around him that host whose memories we hold so dear? In consonance at least with what we know to be their wishes, I shall now request the Rev. William White Bronson to ask the blessing of God upon our proceedings.

PRAYER.

O God, whose name is excellent in all the earth, and Thy glory above the heavens; who a century ago didst inspire and direct the hearts of the delegates in Congress to lay the perpetual foundations of peace, liberty, and safety; we bless and adore Thy Glorious Majesty for this Thy loving kindness and providence. And do Thou, who hast instructed us in Thy holy word to render honor to whom it is due, pour down Thy blessing upon these Thy servants, here assembled to perpetuate the sacred memory of the Fathers of our Republic. May this tribute of a Nation's gratitude be as extended and as abiding as the honored names which it is designed to commemorate. May the inhabitants of this land, while with hearts and voices they proclaim the praises of the assertors of their rights, the defenders of their liberties, and the vindicators of their laws, be perpetuating a call to great and virtuous achievements. And may all who, like our worthy departed of blessed memory, shall be eminent benefactors of mankind, like them, also, find



a grateful people honoring them in their lives and in their deaths. Having inherited the lustre of their names and enjoying the fruits of their labors, may this nation witness a succession of great and good men, to the glory of Thy name and the prosperity of Thy people to the end of time. Grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that this our season of national rejoicing may be so ordered by the sanctifying power of Thy Holy Spirit that we forfeit not our title to be numbered among Thy faithful people. Control the words of all; restrain their appetites; hallow their intercourse; keep far away the occasions of disagreements; subdue the uprisings of angry passions; shed abroad the spirit of meekness and forbearance; teach all, of every class, to rejoice one with another; quicken them to acts of brotherly love. Grant that whatsoever holy suggestions they may any of them receive, they may carefully cherish, and fill them with such gladness of heart, that they, realizing in earthly things the gifts of Thy boundless love, may be encouraged thereby to press onward to the enjoyments of Thyself, when all Thy goodness shall be revealed. O, Thou Fountain of Wisdom, who givest to all men liberally, and upbraidest not, grant that Thy servants here assembled, and all on whom Thou hast bestowed the treasures of intellect, may be led unto right apprehensions of all things. Endow them with humility and soberness of mind. Bestow upon them a discerning spirit, a sound judgment, and an honest and good heart, sincerely disposed to employ all the talents thou hast, or shall entrust them withal, to Thy honor and glory and the good of mankind; that ripening the precious fruits of intellect and of all goodness, their profiting may appear unto all men, and that they may give a comfortable account of their time and of their acquirements to Thee, their God, when as stewards we shall be summoned to our final reckoning. Almighty God, Who hast, in all ages showed forth Thy power and mercy in the wonderful preservation of Thy church, and in the protection

of every people professing Thy holy and eternal truth and putting their sure trust in Thee, we yield Thee our unfeigned thanks and praise for all Thy mercies to this people, and more especially for that signal and wonderful manifestation of Thy providence, which we now commemorate, wherefore not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name be ascribed all honor and glory, in all churches of the saints, from generation to generation, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen."

At the conclusion of the prayer, the Mayor of the city requested the Hon. William A. Whitehead, Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, to call the roll of authors, who were then requested to deposit, each for himself, as his name was called, the biographical sketch which he had prepared.

ROLL OF AUTHORS.

NAME.	SUBJECT.
Adams, Charles Francis, Massachusetts.	John Hancock.
Allen, Ethan, New York.	Philip Livingston.
Amory, Thomas C., Massachusetts.	John Sullivan.
Angell, James B., Rhode Island.	James Mitchell Varnum.
Balch, Thomas, Philadelphia.	William Shippen.
Bartlett, John Russell, Rhode Island.	Samuel Ward.
Bell, Charles H., New Hampshire.	Nathaniel Folsom.
Bell, John J., New Hampshire.	John Taylor Gilman.
Bellows, Henry Whitney, New York.	Henry Wisner.
Biddle, Craig, Philadelphia.	Edward Biddle.
Bouton, Nathaniel, New Hampshire.	George Frost.
Bradford, A. B., Pennsylvania.	George Clymer.
Bradley, Joseph P., District of Columbia.	William Burnet.
Braxton, Carter M., Virginia.	Carter Braxton.
Brinton, John H., Philadelphia.	William Smith.
Brock, R. Alonzo, Virginia.	Richard Henry Lee.
Brown, John, Maryland.	Joshua Seney.
Browne, William Hand, Maryland.	Robert Alexander.
Buffet, E. P., New Jersey.	Abraham Clark.
Burdge, Franklin, New York.	Simon Boerum.
Canning, E. C., New York.	John Lansing.
Carpenter, John C., Maryland.	Richard Ridgley.
Chew, Samuel, Philadelphia.	Benjamin Chew.

NAME.	SUBJECT.
Clairborne, J. F. H., Louisiana.	Abraham Baldwin.
Clemens, Samuel L., Connecticut.	Francis Lightfoot Lee.
Cocke, William Archer, Florida.	William Richardson Davie.
Cooke, John Esten, Virginia.	George Wythe.
Cox, Christopher C., District of Columbia.	Matthew Tilghman.
Cullum, George W., United States Army.	Richard Montgomery.
Dalrymple, E. A., Maryland.	Thomas Johnson, Jr.
Dana, Jr., Richard H., Massachusetts.	Francis Dana.
Darlington, William M., Pennsylvania.	John Armstrong.
Davis, William W. H., Pennsylvania.	George Taylor.
De Lancey, Edward F., New York.	William Allen.
De Peyster, Frederick, New York.	William Floyd.
Dix, John A., New York.	John Cruger.
Drake, Samuel Adams, Massachusetts.	Arthur Middleton.
Duane, William, Philadelphia.	Joseph Reed.
Eastman, Samuel C., New Hampshire.	Josiah Bartlett.
Egle, William H., Pennsylvania.	William Maclay.
Elmer, Lucius Q. C., New Jersey.	Jonathan Elmer.
Etting, Frank M., Philadelphia.	John Dickinson.
Fairbanks, George R., Tennessee.	Edward Telfair.
Flanders, Henry, Philadelphia.	Thomas Fitzimmons.
Forrest, Douglass, Maryland.	Daniel Dulany.
Forney, John W., Philadelphia.	Thomas Mifflin.
Frothingham, Richard, Massachusetts.	James Otis.
Furness, Horace Howard, Philadelphia.	Jonathan Bayard Smith.
Futhey, J. Smith, Pennsylvania.	William Clingan.
Gammell, William, Rhode Island.	Stephen Hopkins.
Gayarré, Charles, Louisiana.	John Rutledge.
Gilman, Arthur, New Hampshire.	Nicholas Gilman.
Gratz, Simon, Philadelphia.	Richard Butler.
Greene, George W., Rhode Island.	Nathaniel Greene.
Grigsby, Hugh Blair, Virginia.	Peyton Randolph.
Hale, Edward Everett, Massachusetts.	James Lovell.
Hammond, Mrs. L. M., New York.	James Madison.
Hanson, George A., Maryland.	Benjamin Contee.
Harrison, Samuel A., Maryland.	William Hindman.
Hart, Mrs. Armine Nixon, Philadelphia.	Robert Morris.
Hart, Charles Henry, Philadelphia.	John Nixon.
Hatfield, Edwin F., New Jersey.	Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant.
Hedge, J. Dunham, Rhode Island.	Henry Marchant.
Henry, William Wirt, Virginia.	Patrick Henry.
Higginson, Thomas W., Rhode Island.	William Ellery.
Hillard, George S., Massachusetts.	Christopher Gadsden.
Hoadley, Charles J., Connecticut.	Silas Deane.
Hoes, R. Randall, New Jersey.	John Witherspoon.

NAME.	SUBJECT.
Holland, J. G., New York.	George Washington.
Hopkinson, Oliver, Philadelphia.	Francis Hopkinson.
Hoyt, Albert H., Massachusetts.	Samuel Livermore.
Humphreys, A. A., United States Army.	Charles Humphreys.
Hunter, Richard Stockton, Philadelphia.	Daniel Roberdeau.
Jones, Horatio Gates, Philadelphia.	Ebenezer Kinnersley.
Jones, William Alfred, Connecticut.	Thomas Stone.
Kingsley, William L., Connecticut.	Samuel Huntington.
Lanman, Charles, District of Columbia.	William Samuel Johnson.
Le Vert, Octavia Walton, Georgia.	George Walton.
Lincoln, John L., Rhode Island.	John Collins.
Lindsley, J. Berrien, Tennessee.	Lyman Hall.
Lippitt, Mrs. Mary A., Rhode Island.	William Barton.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Massachusetts.	Samuel Holten.
Lossing, Benson J., New York.	Philip Schuyler.
Meredith, Miss Catharine K., Philadelphia.	Gouverneur Morris.
Merrifield, Joseph, Maryland.	John Carroll.
Messler, Abraham, New Jersey.	William Patterson.
Morris, John G., Maryland.	Robert Goldsborough.
McClellan, W. J., Maryland.	Jeremiah Townley Chase.
Nevin, J. Williamson, Pennsylvania.	Hugh Williamson.
Nevin, William W., Philadelphia.	William Carmichael.
Norris, George W., Philadelphia.	Isaac Norris.
Parker, Joel, New Jersey.	John Hart.
Pennypacker, Samuel W., Philadelphia.	Samuel J. Atlee.
Phelps, Miss Eliz. Stuart, Massachusetts.	Abigail Adams.
Pinckney, Charles C., South Carolina.	Thomas Pinckney.
Quincy, Edmund, Massachusetts.	Josiah Quincy, Jr.
Quincy, Miss Eliza Susan, Massachusetts.	Josiah Quincy, Sr.
Ramsay, J. G. M., Tennessee.	William Blount.
Robbins, Chandler, Massachusetts.	David Ramsay.
Seidensticker, O., Philadelphia.	Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg.
Silliman, Benjamin, Connecticut.	Joseph Spencer.
Simmons, George A., Massachusetts.	Samuel Adams.
Smith, John Jay, Philadelphia.	James Logan.
Steiner, Lewis H., Maryland.	Richard Potts.
Stevens, Francis Putnam, Maryland.	John Henry, Jr.
Stevens, John Austin, New York.	John Alsop.
Stone, Frederick D., Philadelphia.	Charles Thomson.
Stone, William L., New York.	George Clinton.
Strother, David Hunter, Virginia.	Edmund Pendleton.
Stryker, Mrs. Helen B., New Jersey.	Elias Boudinot.
Stryker, William S., New Jersey.	Nathaniel Scudder.

NAME.	SUBJECT.
Taylor, Miss Cornelia F., Philadelphia.	Cyrus Griffin.
Thomas, Douglass H., Maryland.	John Hanson.
Thornton, J. Wingate, Massachusetts.	Matthew Thornton.
Throckmorton, B. W., New Jersey.	John De Hart.
Toner, J. M., United States Army.	John Morgan.
Travelli, Joseph S., Pennsylvania.	Arthur St. Clair.
Trumbull, J. Hammond, Connecticut.	Eliphalet Dyer.
Tyler, Samuel, District of Columbia.	Luther Martin.
Wallace, John William, Philadelphia.	Thomas Willing.
Westcott, Thompson, Philadelphia.	James Smith.
Wheeler, John H., North Carolina.	Richard Dobbs Spaight.
Whitehead, William A., New Jersey.	Richard Stockton.
Winthrop, Robert C., Massachusetts.	Artemas Ward.
Wood, George J., Connecticut.	Oliver Ellsworth.
Woolson, Miss Constance F., Florida.	Henry Middleton.

As the name of Charles Thomson resounded through the Hall, the chairman of the Committee turned to the Mayor and officially announced the restoration, on that day, "to the chamber, of the last piece of furniture known to be outstanding and properly authenticated—the identical desk used by Charles Thomson as Secretary of Congress—which has been handed down from generation to generation in the family of Francis Hopkinson, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and now deposited by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. E. A. Foggo, upon the specific trust and condition that Independence Chamber shall remain forever in the same state as this day officially reported—otherwise to be returned to the family."

The Mayor gracefully accepted the table, and invited the Congress of Authors, at the conclusion of their proceedings in the chamber, to follow him to the platform erected in Independence Square, in order that the general public might participate in the ceremonial of the day.

THE NATIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION.

ANNIVERSARY OF JULY 2, 1776.

"The 2d day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as *the great anniversary festival*; it ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty."—*Letter of JOHN ADAMS to his wife on 3d day of July, 1776.*

CEREMONIES IN INDEPENDENCE SQUARE,

July 1, 1876, at 12.30 P. M.

Hon. JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, will preside.

PROGRAMME.

CENTENNIAL TRIUMPHAL MARCH (HELFRICH) BAND.
 Introduction of the Presiding Officer by his Honor, Wm. S. STOKLEY, Mayor
 of Philadelphia.
 ADDRESS by the Presiding Officer.
 CENTENNIAL HYMN. Words by WHITTIER. Music by PAINE. CHORUS.
 ADDRESS WILLIAM V. MCKEAN, Esq., of Pennsylvania
 GOD SAVE AMERICA BAND.
 ADDRESS Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts.
 THE VOICE OF THE OLD BELL. Words by W. BRADSHAW. Music by Miss
 JULIA S. THOMPSON SOLO AND CHORUS.
 The Solo will be rendered by Mr. GEO. A. CONLY.
 ADDRESS His Excellency HENRY LIPPITT, Governor of Rhode Island.
 NATIONAL AIRS. HERMANN BAND.
 ADDRESS Hon. FREDERICK DEPEYSTER, of New York.
 CENTENNIAL ODE. Words by S. C. UPHAM. Music by ADAM GEIBEL. CHORUS.
 ADDRESS Hon. L. Q. C. LAMAR, of Mississippi.
 CENTENNIAL HYMN Words by WM. FENIMORE. Music by WM. P. FENIMORE CHORUS.
 ADDRESS Hon. BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER, of Pennsylvania.
 THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER By GEO. A. CONLY AND CHORUS.
 BENEDICTION Rev. CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY, of South Carolina.
 Hon. JOHN B. GORDON, of Georgia, Gen. WINFIELD S. HANCOCK, and Hon.
 JOEL PARKER, of New Jersey, it is expected, will also address the
 assemblage.

The Vocal and Instrumental Music, under the supervision of Mr. SIMON GRATZ, by the Choral Society of the Centennial Musical Association; Leader, JEAN LOUIS; and the Military Band of the same Association; Leader, THEO. HERMANN, Conductor, Prof. JEAN LOUIS.

By order of the

COMMITTEE ON RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE HALL,
 CHARLES S. KEYSER,
 Master of Ceremonies.

The platform, which had been built at the rear of the Hall, was occupied by over five thousand people, and covered the identical ground from which the Declaration of Independence was first read and proclaimed to the people, by John Nixon, upon the 8th of July, 1776.

Delegations were present from
The United States Centennial Commission;
The Foreign Commissioners to the Exposition;
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania;
The City authorities of Philadelphia;
The Clergy;
Members of Congress and Officers of the Army and Navy.

At exactly thirty minutes past twelve, the hour appointed for the exercises in the square, while the band played the Centennial Triumphal March, the Hon. John William Wallace, the President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, escorted by Hon. William S. Stokley, Mayor, appeared upon the stage.

ADDRESS OF THE MAYOR.

On arriving at the speakers' stand, the Mayor, amid the applause of the multitude, said:—

It becomes my pleasure to introduce to you Hon. John William Wallace, President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who has consented to preside on this occasion.

ADDRESS OF MR. WALLACE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND HONORED GUESTS
FROM MANY LANDS:—

We assemble this morning to commemorate one of the great days of our great year of freedom and independence; a day not less important than that illustrious Fourth on which we seem to be already entering, and which we shall soon

celebrate so grandly. Let me say a word as to the history of this 2d of July, and why we celebrate that day. The gentleman whom I will introduce to you directly will speak, perhaps, of it more fully. On the 7th of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, that State of renowned and venerable name, introduced into the Congress which assembled in yonder chamber, this resolution:—

“*Resolved*, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.”

On the 2d of July, 1776—the day which we now commemorate—after our fathers had consulted much, and pondered much, that resolution was passed; and, so far as anything but actual and successful war could complete it, revolution was accomplished, and the British Provinces of America were free and independent States. We can understand, therefore, why John Adams wrote as he did, on the 3d, to his wife, that the 2d of July would be “the most memorable epocha in the history of America,” and that *it* would “be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival, be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the Continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore.”

Everything relating to this great resolution is interesting to all Americans, and I exhibit to you a *fac-simile* of it, which Mr. Etting, at page 94 of his valuable book, recently published, entitled “An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania, now known as the Hall of Independence,” has given to us from the original itself, in Mr. Lee’s handwriting.

The handwriting is as bold as John Hancock’s.

[Mr. Wallace, holding up Mr. Etting’s work, opened at page 94, here exhibited the *fac-simile*.]

This resolution of the 2d, as I have said, was really the act which made us independent of Great Britain. But Congress, in those days, sat with closed doors. Its sessions were secret. But few outside knew that independence had been resolved on, and therefore the Declaration, both of the act of Independence, and of the causes which impelled us to it—that paper required by “a decent respect to the opinions of mankind”—was made in the most solemn form, and published to the world.

The 2d and the 4th of July are, therefore, complements of each other. The 2d is, in truth, the beginning and the cause of the 4th. The 4th is the consummation and crown of the 2d.

Appreciating in this, its true and dignified value, the day which we now commemorate, the Committee on the Restoration of the Hall—to whom we have been so greatly indebted for much that gives effect to the present season—this Committee, I say, some months ago, sent letters to the descendants of the men of 1776, to the historians of the country, her poets, her men of letters, and her antiquaries, summoning them to meet on this day in that venerable Hall on which you are looking, and there to bring for preservation in that vast Museum, formed by the efforts of that same Committee, protected by the same roof which protects the Hall of Independence—and justly styled National—an authentic biography of some of our early patriots; thus to contribute to the erection of an imperishable monument to the memory of those whose deeds make the glory of our land.

Responding to this honorable call, these distinguished persons have come from all parts of this wide republic as to a sanctuary, and in the presence of that spiritual band whom mental vision ever there summons up with the distinctness of reality, they are now depositing in yonder hall, upon the table of John Hancock, as upon a shrine, these solemn docu-

ments. So soon as they have performed this high office, they will present themselves on this platform, and you will have the pleasure of being addressed by some of them.

Whittier's Centennial Hymn was then sung by the chorus.

At the close of the music, the Congress of Authors, who had now finished their literary duties in the Hall, came forward and took their seats in a distinguished portion of the platform that had been prepared for them.

Mr. Wallace then said: I will present to you, as the first speaker, a gentleman of our own city who bears a patriot name. He is known more widely by his pen than by his voice, and has far more readers than acquaintances. He will give you an accurate historical sketch of matters relating to the day. I introduce to you Mr. William V. McKean.

ADDRESS OF MR. McKEAN.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

In your order of proceeding it is allotted to me to speak of the events of July 1st and 2d, a hundred years ago—events we are here to-day to commemorate. We are gathered in a place illustrious in its historic memories—a place hallowed as far as any spot can be hallowed by human agency. There is no other place in our country so intimately associated with the events that made and preserved us a nation.

Here, within these walls, the commission which, on the 17th of June, 1775, placed Washington at the head of the American army, was signed, attested and delivered into his hands. Here, on the 15th of May, 1776, it was declared by Congress that the exercise of every kind of authority by the government of Great Britain in the United Colonies “should be totally suppressed,” and that all the powers of government should be “exercised under the authority of the people of the

Colonies." Here, on the 2d of July, 1776, was adopted the resolution which, on that day, declared the United Colonies to be free and independent States. Here, two days later, July 4th, was adopted the immortal "Declaration" of that resolution, and of the reasons for the separation from Great Britain; here it was signed, proclaimed, and sent forth on its beneficent mission to mankind. Here, later on, the government of the Confederation was framed, signed, ratified and proclaimed—those articles of confederation and perpetual union between the States, which kept them together and led the way to the Constitution; and here, in 1787, was framed, signed and ordained that noble structure of government—the written Constitution of the United States.

Here, too, and in the building at the Sixth Street corner of the square, for the greater part of twenty years after the Confederation was proclaimed and the Constitution was ordained, was performed the labor of legislation and organization which was necessary to enable the young nation to discharge its duties, and to get the new government into working order. All these memorable and momentous things, and many more in the history of the United States, were done here. You know what manner of men they were who performed those admirable works, and in what reverence their memories are held.

It was here within these walls that the merchants and planters, and farmers and mechanics, and lawyers, sent into Congress by the then obscure and remote American Colonies, became translated into statesmen whose political ability and wisdom, whose public virtues, and whose dignity of action challenged the attention and won the admiration and praise of the civilized world. Here they assembled—not for a casual occasion only, or for a few days or weeks, but for long months, and through many years—not a portion of them only, but all of that resplendent constellation of illustrious men

whose names illumine the early history of political and civic events in the United States. It would make a long catalogue to recite them, and I shall not attempt it. The place where we are now assembled was their public home. Here within these walls they sat and consulted—here within these grounds they walked and pondered. These places were once vocal with their voices—in anxious conference—in undertoned consultation and persuasion—in eloquent debate. If echoes were immortal things and could come back to us after the lapse of a hundred years, we might pause in reverence to-day, and harken with stilled breath for the reverberation of their voices in that chamber, and of their footfalls through that corridor and in these grounds where we now are.

Then, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with reason, as well as from the impulses of patriotism, that we regard this place not only as the historic centre of our country, but as hallowed ground—hallowed so far as any earthly place can become so through the deeds of men, or by the work of human hands.


I have mentioned briefly some of the memorable and controlling deeds done in this place. That which is the immediate subject of commemoration to-day is the adoption by Congress of Richard Henry Lee's Virginia Resolution, on the 2d of July, 1776, whereby all political connection between the United Colonies and the government of Great Britain was *then* totally dissolved, and the colonies were *then* declared to be Free and Independent States. The consideration of that decisive Resolution had been postponed from the 10th of June until the 1st of July, a hundred years ago to-day. The patriots who were in favor of an immediate and formal declaration of the separation of the Colonies from any further political dependence upon the mother country, looked forward to the arrival of that first day of July with great and anxious solicitude—not that they doubted the adoption of the Resolu-

tion of Independence by a sufficient majority of the Colonies, for that had been assured, but because of their earnest desire that the decisive act should go to the world as the unanimous voice of all the Colonies represented in the Congress. During the whole of the interval between the 10th of June and the first of July, Jefferson and John Adams, Chase and Rodney and McKean, and Franklin and James Smith, and Jonathan D. Sergeant—and others, of course, but these particularly—had been diligently at work to insure a unanimous vote of the Colonies. The people were ready, but the delegates from some of the Colonies were not. These delegates were not less patriotic than their more advanced and decided colleagues, but they were slow to say the final word that was to commit the people of their Colonies to the irrevocable Act of Separation—an act which would leave them no middle ground to stand upon—an act which *must* be fought out to victory by conflict of arms on the battle field—for failure there would leave them a conquered people, stripped of *all* their rights as political communities.

On the 10th of June, the day when the first debate on Richard Henry Lee's Resolution was closed, the delegates who made up the majorities in the representation of six of the Colonies were still unprepared to vote for the final act of separation. Virginia and North Carolina and Georgia were ready to vote for independence, so were Massachusetts and Connecticut and New Hampshire and Rhode Island; but the delegates from South Carolina were not, nor were those from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. This led to the postponement until the 1st of July—a postponement agreed to by the more resolute advocates of independence, in the full expectation that the interval of three weeks would enable them to bring about entire unanimity. But so determined and certain were the leading delegates of the Colonies already prepared, that they resolved that, in

order that no time should be lost by this postponement, committees should be appointed to draft a Declaration, setting forth the reasons for the Resolution of Independence, and to prepare a form of Confederation for the future government of the Colonies. They and those who were like minded with them had no doubt as to the final issue; but they kept earnestly and diligently at work. Jonathan D. Sergeant undertook the duty of bringing about a change in the delegation from New Jersey; Samuel Chase went home to Maryland to stimulate the convention of that Colony to send instructions for independence to their delegates in Congress; Cæsar Rodney went down into Sussex County, Delaware, to induce a more favorable tone in public sentiment from that place; Thomas McKean, together with Benjamin Rush, Jas. Smith, and others, set to work to procure a popular and favorable expression from Pennsylvania. Thus the way was prepared for what it was hoped would be a unanimous, or nearly unanimous vote on the first of July. Public sentiment was being brought to bear upon the hesitating members from four out of the six uncertain Colonial delegations. The New York delegates remained passive, neither opposing nor helping, as they deemed the whole subject of separation outside of their instructions; and South Carolina was too distant for such efforts as were put into motion in the near at hand Colonies of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Still her delegation was making progress, too.

As early as the 15th of June Jonathan D. Sergeant wrote to John Adams that the new Delegates about to be elected to Congress from New Jersey, would be in Philadelphia by the first of July, and they would "vote plump." They, in fact, arrived on Friday, June 28th, three of the new Delegates being Dr. John Witherspoon, Richard Stockton, and Francis Hopkinson. Sergeant was entirely right about their sentiments. New Jersey's voice was thus added to that of the



others in favor of independence, making eight out of the thirteen Colonies.

Samuel Chase had a more time-consuming task in Maryland. There the people were right enough, but the Convention of the Colony was difficult to move in the desired direction. In order to counteract that spirit, county conventions had to be called, and pressure from them was brought to bear upon the members of the Provincial Convention sitting at Annapolis. They were instructed by the people to withdraw the former instructions to the Maryland delegates in the Congress at Philadelphia, and to authorize and empower the latter to concur with the other United Colonies, or a majority of them, in declaring the United Colonies free and independent States. This was accomplished by the 28th of June, and on that day Chase sent an express from Annapolis to John Adams, at Philadelphia, advising him of the successful result of his mission. Under the stimulus of the popular uprising excited in the counties by Mr. Chase, the Annapolis Convention cast a unanimous vote in favor of the instructions for independence. The instructions were received and read in Congress on the 1st of July, a hundred years ago to-day—possibly at this very hour—and thus the voice of Maryland was added to those of the other Colonies already prepared, making nine Colonies out of the thirteen in favor of the Independence Resolution.

The votes of four Colonies were still undecided, although that of Delaware was sure if Rodney should get back in time. He was still in Sussex, leaving his delegation in Congress evenly divided—George Read being against the resolution, whilst McKean was in favor of it. In the mean time, and as early as the 25th of June, Rush, and Smith, and McKean and others had procured a declaration from a popular Provincial Conference representing the people of the counties of Pennsylvania, expressing their willingness to concur in a vote by Congress declaring independence, and this was read in Congress

Tuesday, June 25th. Even this did not decide the vote of Pennsylvania, for all but three of her delegates still remained of the contrary opinion. No change was brought about in the New York delegation, and none that was decisive in that from South Carolina.

This was the condition of affairs when the momentous First day of July, 1776, arrived—the day to which the further consideration of Richard Henry Lee's Virginia Resolution had been postponed. Nine colonies were sure to vote for it, and ten, if Rodney should arrive from Delaware before the vote was called. Pennsylvania and South Carolina were still adverse, and New York declined to take part, as the whole subject of separation and independence was outside of their instructions. Upon meeting that First of July, Congress went into Committee of the Whole House, to take up the resolution. Dr. Witherspoon and his New Jersey colleagues, being new members, desired to hear the arguments pro and con—for and against a declaration of independence. The reasons were given on both sides; but, with the exception of two or three members, it is uncertain who spoke. Richard Henry Lee, the mover of the Resolution, was absent in Virginia, because of sickness in his family; Jefferson, who was a power with his pen and in committee, was no speaker on the floor of the House; Chase was still absent in Maryland, and Rodney had not yet returned from Delaware. It is known, however, that John Dickinson stated the case of the opposition to the Resolution, and that John Adams was the great champion of Independence on that day. It is not unlikely that young Rutledge, of South Carolina, described by Patrick Henry as the most eloquent speaker in Congress, and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, and R. R. Livingston, of New York, supported Dickinson—and that George Wythe, of Virginia, and Dr. Witherspoon supported the argument of Adams. But all accounts agree that John Adams was “the pillar,” the “colossus”

of the party of Independence on the floor of Congress that day, and in the preceding debate in June, and that his first of July speech made a powerful impression by its vigorous logic and its noble eloquence. What a privation to this age it is that we have no authentic contemporary record of that great debate, so pregnant with the future destiny of the American people!

On the evening of July first John Adams wrote to Samuel Chase that the debate took up most of the day. Jefferson wrote in 1787 that the debate lasted "nine hours"—until evening—"without refreshment and without pause." Then the vote was taken in Committee of the Whole. Nine Colonies—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia—voted for the Resolution. Two Colonies—Pennsylvania and South Carolina—voted against it. Delaware was evenly divided, as Rodney was still absent, and New York, at the request of her delegation, was allowed to withdraw from the vote, having no new instructions.

This vote, Mr. Chairman, you will remember, was taken in Committee of the Whole, and had yet to be considered in the House. The committee rose and reported their action to the House, and the vote was about to be taken there, when, according to the plain and brief phraseology of the official record, the resolution of the committee was read, and "the determination thereof was at the request of a colony postponed until to-morrow."

This brings us to the second day of July, 1776, the real date of the birth of the United States as an independent nation. The Colony, at whose request the vote had been postponed the day before, was South Carolina. The suggestion was made by Edward Rutledge, who, according to Jefferson's notes made at the time, said that "he believed that his colleagues, although they disapproved of the resolution, might then join in it for the

sake of unanimity." When the vote came to be taken on the 2d of July, Pennsylvania reversed her adverse vote of the day before. That came about through two of the opposition delegates absenting themselves, leaving three in favor of the resolution, to two against it. Rodney had arrived by express sent after him into Delaware, and his presence enabled Delaware to cast her vote for the resolution. When South Carolina was called, she, according to the intimation given by Rutledge, reversed her vote, and thus made the vote unanimous with the exception of that of New York, whose delegates still stood aloof—not voting, because they had no instructions, but declaring that individually they were in favor of the resolution. On the 9th of July, the New York Convention unanimously approved the resolution and the declaration.

The official record of these proceedings is in the following words:—

"Tuesday, July 2d, 1776. The Congress resumed the consideration of the resolution from the Committee of the Whole, which was agreed to, as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

From the hour when that vote was taken, and that record made, the United States of America "assumed among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." It is the Centennial anniversary of that great event—the most momentous event in the political history of mankind—that you are commemorating by your presence here to-day.

And now, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, indulge me while I say that the brief and somewhat dry narrative which you have complimented, by giving it your attention, is

made up from the meagre journals of the Colonial Congress, and from the facts, as I have found them scattered through the twenty volumes of the voluminous writings of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. With but two or three unimportant exceptions, I have used none but the writings that were contemporaneous with the events described. And here I think I may do a public service by correcting a very general error. I have seen it set down in the writings of men possessing some celebrity as authors, that Jefferson's narrative of the events of the second and fourth days of July, 1776, was written from memory when he was a very old man. This is a mischievous error. His narrative was published in Paris, in August, 1787, whilst he was Minister to France, and when he was but forty-three years of age. The error grew out of the hasty reading of a celebrated letter of Jefferson's to Samuel A. Wells, dated May 12, 1819; but in that very letter he declares, with solemn emphasis, that the narrative therein contained is extracted from his original notes, made in his place in Congress, "while the question of independence was under consideration before Congress," which notes, he adds, "I have now before me," and "for the truth of which I pledge myself to heaven and earth."

He is a bold man who reads that testimony and then undertakes to say that Jefferson's narrative of what passed in Congress connected with Lee's Resolution and the Declaration of Independence was written from memory, when his memory was enfeebled by age.

I am thus particular, Mr. Chairman, because the history of those grand and momentous events has been falsified by many imaginative pictures—by fancy and by fiction—to a degree that has almost excluded the true history from the popular mind. Some of these fanciful fictions have been issued in book form in this city, within this Centennial year.

I ask your pardon for this short departure from the immediate theme of the day, and will now conclude my share in

the proceedings. The great importance—the decisive and controlling character of the Resolution of Independence, adopted on the Second day of July, 1776, have been obscured to the popular vision by the fame and splendor of Jefferson's immortal Declaration of the reasons for the adoption of that resolution. Yet Jefferson himself never allowed the one to overshadow in his estimation the importance of the other. The Declaration, in his mind, was intended to be "an appeal to the tribunal of the world" as a justification of what had already been done. It was intended, he says, "to be an expression of the American mind, and to give that expression the proper tone and spirit called for by the occasion," "to place before mankind the common sense of the subject in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent." Yet the Declaration of Independence *has* dislodged the Resolution of Independence from the place of precedence in the popular mind, and the Fourth of July has displaced the Second as the nation's holiday, and the patriot's high festival; and this is easy enough to understand when we consider the circumstances. The Resolution was passed in private session, and remained unknown to the people generally until it and the Declaration were publicly proclaimed together. There was nothing in the phrasing of the Resolution to cause it to live in the popular memory—whilst there was everything in the Declaration to give it a vital hold upon the affections of the American people. It was so pre-eminently "*the* expression of the American mind of that day," that people of every degree adopted it as their own. So it has remained. Its terse, forcible, and unanswerable arraignment of the Government of the mother country for the suppression of the rights and liberties of the American colonists—its clear and compact statement of the basis of all just government—"the consent of the governed"—and its grand exposition of the inherent and

inalienable rights of mankind—have made it an ever-living political gospel.

“Independence Day” must, therefore, remain inseparably connected with the Fourth of July—the day of the “Declaration,” and not the day of the Resolution. Yet John Adams had reason for writing to his wife on the 3d day of July, 1776, that “yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided among men. That will live as truth among all Americans who know and value the history of their country.” His prediction that that day would be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival, “the most memorable epocha in the history of America,” has failed in the precise fulfilment—but it is vicariously fulfilled by the universal celebration of the Fourth. But his prophetic vision was not entirely at fault; and his prayer had not gone without answer. On the morning of the first of July, 1776, anticipating Independence in that day’s vote, he wrote from Pennsylvania to Archibald Bullock, “May Heaven prosper the new-born Republic, and make it more glorious than any former republics have been!” And on the third he wrote to Mrs. Adams, *after* the adoption of the Resolution of Independence, “Through all the gloom I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory;” and “posterity will triumph in this day’s transactions.”

He, with Jefferson, lived until the 4th of July, 1826, and departing this life together on that day, had seen a full half century of the heaven-sent prosperity of the young Republic; and Adams witnessed the gathering of that light and glory whose advancing rays he had foreseen through the dark gloom of the Revolution. They were a joy to his patriotic eyes; but what raptures would he have experienced if he could have had pre-vision of the coming glories of the auspicious days of this Centennial year—the pre-vision of a nation of forty-four mil-

lions, extending from ocean to ocean across the Continent, and across twenty-three degrees of latitude, skilled in all arts, rivaling the Old World in the raising and making of all articles of need, abounding in rich resources, the wilderness of the west transformed into an inexhaustible granary for the necessities of other countries, and standing the acknowledged equal, in all respects, with the foremost political powers of the earth—the pre-vision of the assembled nations here in this hundredth year of American Independence—all of them, the oldest and the youngest—the most populous and most powerful, with the humblest and feeblest; the empire and the municipality; the liberal monarchy and the limited republic; the democracy and the autocracy; the Christian, Mohammedan, and Pagan; Europe, Asia, Africa, America, the islands of the Sea, and antipodal Australia; which, in 1776, was an unknown quantity on the map of the world—all the nations assembled in the magnificent industrial palaces erected by the people of the American Republic; assembled with their multitudinous useful products and rich treasures, in peaceful emulation, to promote the progress and prosperity of mankind in the interests of universal peace; assembled in commemoration of the hundredth year of American Independence, with their choice men of learning and science, and art and skill, to manifest the goodwill and high estimation they hold towards the great nation, the deep foundations of which he and his compatriots laid a hundred years ago—if some new apocalypse could have disclosed all this to his yearning eyes, what an enrapturing revelation would that have been!

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I do not often give rein to exalted speech after that fashion, but exalting influences are in the air all about us in these days. We do well to note and to celebrate the memorable epochs and the momentous events that have called us here to-day, and to keep freshly before us the example of the great and good and wise men,

without whose wisdom, and virtue, and patriotism, no such days or events would have a place in our history. This is a good service, but we can do a better. We can, if we will, keep their example before us, and try to follow in their footsteps every day in the year, and every year of our lives. We can endeavor to practise their public virtue, and bring our best political ability, and our highest standard of character, to the support and administration of the Constitution and the government which they founded, in order to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquillity, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity.

“God save America” was then played by the band, after which Mr. Wallace came forward and said:—

The name of Saltonstall is one of the early honored names of Massachusetts; and its honor has been kept in perennial freshness by a succession of descendants who have added new titles of respect to those long ago acquired by the ancient Governor who bore it. It comes, indeed, to this very day and hour with distinction in the person of one whom I introduce to you, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts.

REMARKS OF MR. SALTONSTALL.

As I stand here and look at that glorious old hall and call to mind the fact that it was here where, one hundred years ago, transpired that great, one might say, that greatest of all events of history—the passage of the resolution introduced by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams, “that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be *free and independent States*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and

of right ought to be, totally dissolved"—when I think of the men who were here assembled—the Adamses, Gerry, Paine, Hancock, Hopkins, Sherman, Wolcott, Livingston, Morris, Rush, Franklin, Carroll, Lee, Jefferson, Rutledge, Middleton, and others whose names are dear to every American heart—a body of men of whom Lord Chatham declared "that in all his reading and observation—and he had read Thucydides and had studied and admired the master States of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia;"—and when I think that that resolution not only made of those feeble colonies a great republic, but has brought life and hope to all the civilized world, I feel greatly honored in being asked to speak in this presence for the ancient Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and no less embarrassed to find words to express my thoughts upon this glorious theme. Nor should I have had this honor had it not been that that eminent patriot and scholar, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, whose ancestor crossed the ocean in the same ship with my own, two hundred and forty-six years ago, was prevented from being here to-day. And Massachusetts, surely all will agree, is the last State which should be absent on this great day, from this most imposing occasion. It may well be said that the Declaration of Independence was the glorious fruit of that tree whose germ was nurtured in the cabin of the May-Flower, one hundred and fifty-six years before.

During that whole century and a half there was seldom a period when a conflict did not exist between the colonists and the crown; and, thanks to God, there were always to be found in Massachusetts stalwart supporters of the rights and liberties of the people. They never swerved nor flinched, but were true sires of the men who were to act their part in the

greater struggle; so that when the time came which summoned the colonists to meet their oppressors in arms, the terrible necessity came to a people who had undoubtedly foreseen the dire event.

To no man does the title of "Pioneer of the Revolution" more truly belong than to Samuel Adams. "The last of the Puritans," as he has been styled, he certainly united in his character all the best traits of his Puritan ancestry. From the day he left college, when he took for the theme of his disquisition "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved," to the day of his death, this brave, far-seeing man walked majestically on, caring never for himself, but only for the liberties of his country. Gov. Hutchinson said of him, "such is the obstinacy and inflexible disposition of the man, he never can be conciliated by any office or gift whatever." "His feet were ever in the stirrups, his lance was ever in its rest," says Jefferson.

It is related of him that, on the morning of the battle of Lexington, as he was retreating before the British troops, he remarked to a friend, "This is a fine day; I mean, a glorious day for America." The man who first saw that the great question must result in an appeal to arms—the man who first tried to prepare his fellow-citizens to meet the great issue—Massachusetts does well at this hour to send his marble statue to the capital of the nation, which owes its existence in a great degree to the sagacity, the firmness, and the courage of this, her noble son.

Nor can I forbear to speak, also, of his great kinsman and coadjutor, John Adams—their names are so intimately associated in a common glory that to speak in praise of the one is to eulogize the other—the man whom Jefferson styled the "*Colossus of that Congress*;" whom Richard Stockton declared to be the "*Atlas of Independence*;" who, possessing the great

gift of impassioned eloquence, knew how to keep silent when, in ignorance of the true condition of affairs in Massachusetts, other colonies were not prepared for the question of independence; but always ready to speak when occasion required, so thoroughly acquainted was he with every question which came before Congress, and so admirably trained were his faculties in debate, possessing "a power of thought and expression which," according to Jefferson, "moved the members from their seats." The devoted husband of an admirable wife, the fond father, loving his home, but placing before all things else his country, devoting his life to her cause, he was spared to see his prophetic vision fulfilled when, on the 2d of July, one hundred years ago, he exclaimed: "yet through all the gloom I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means, and that posterity will triumph in this day's transactions, even although *we* should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not."

How touching is it to think of the devotion of these men, the two Adamses, leaving their native State, her ports closed, the doors of her courts barred, her industries dead, her people in a state of starvation, her capital occupied by the army of the enemy; parting from loving wives and children without any cheering assurance of meeting them again; turning their horses' heads for Philadelphia, here to meet the leading spirits of sister colonies, of whose names they may have heard, but of whose views, wishes, and purposes, they had but a most imperfect knowledge. So far at least as any positive aggressions of the mother country were concerned, Massachusetts perhaps, stood alone; but her delegates, of whatever else they may have doubted, were sure of the ready sympathy and the hearty good-will of those patriotic men whom the same call had summoned to this ancient revolutionary city.

It took more than a fortnight in those days to travel from Boston to Philadelphia. The journey lay through a scarcely

settled country, occupied, with the exception of a few towns, distant from each other, by simple yeomen, who must have gazed with wonder, if not suspicion, upon the strangers, coming from so remote a place as Boston. And now the trip can be made between the sunrise and sunset of a summer day, traversing a country beautifully cultivated, through great cities, huge factories of every kind greeting the eye of the traveller, and the hum of varied industry filling his ear. Great steamships lie at anchor in the harbors, and the yellow harvest falls before the march of the reaping machine. The electric wires, thanks to Boston's son but Philadelphia's patriot sage, are transmitting intelligence quicker than the lightning's flash from one side of the continent to the other, and even under the ocean to continents beyond.

Truly said John Adams, "the day will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore."

But let me not close without saying, what I can as a son of Massachusetts say from my heart, that as one hundred years ago Pennsylvania received the delegates from the other Colonies, and though at the outset not herself prepared to join Massachusetts and Virginia in their extreme measures, yet yielded them her cordial sympathy, and exposed herself, as the gathering-place of the Rebel Congress, to the severe retaliatory measures of Great Britain, becoming in the end, as she has since continued to be, one of the most generous and devoted of the sisterhood of States; so *now* has Pennsylvania, and especially this good city of Philadelphia, almost alone and under every form of discouragement, carried out this magnificent project of a great centennial celebration; and all

the nations of the earth have been invited and have come hither, bringing with them their superb treasures of art and industry, to take part with us in the national celebration of our natal day. Not alone the nations of Europe and South America, but from the far East—China with her four hundred millions of people; the Islands of Japan, so recently opened to the world by peaceful influences, under our own brave Perry; Egypt, with her forty centuries of history coming to exchange greetings with this young nation; but most touching of all, Great Britain, from whose loins we sprung, with her colonies, many of which, one hundred years ago, were unknown to civilized man, laying aside old prejudices, has brought hither and displayed to the world the rich products of her looms, her workshops, and *ateliers* with a lavishness that calls for our warmest admiration, and seems to bid us take notice that she too has been busy these last hundred years.

I say, then, that Pennsylvania has well earned her title of *Keystone* to this mighty arch of the Union by her record of the past, and not less by her boldness and perseverance in conceiving and carrying out the plan of this great International Exhibition.

May our people profit, as they ought, by this great educator—may they come from the very extremities of the Republic, and meet here to rejoice together with grateful hearts, and to revive in each other's breasts the memories of ancestral virtues, so that in the next century we may show the nations of the world the best results of Republican institutions, as in the last we have held up to them the beacon-light of freedom.

A new Centennial ode, entitled "The Voice of the Old Bell," was then sung. The music is by Mr. W. Bradshaw, and the words by Miss Julia S. Thompson. The solo parts were sung by the well-known basso, Mr. George A. Conly.

The piece was encored, and Mr. Conly sang his part again. At its conclusion Mr. Wallace rose and said:—

You will now hear from the State of Rhode Island; but before you so hear, may I not apostrophize her in the language of one of her own bards, writing in times when lawless violence sought to subvert her old and honored government—

“Oh gallant land of bosoms true,
Still bear that stainless shield;
That ANCHOR clung the tempest through,
That HOPE untaught to yield.”

The name of Lippitt comes to us with honor from the war of the Revolution. Col. Christopher Lippitt fought at White Plains, at Trenton, and at Princeton, and in all fought with bravery and skill. His grandson, the present wise and respected Governor of Rhode Island, will now speak to you. I introduce the Hon. Henry Lippitt, of Rhode Island.

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR LIPPITT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Finding myself on the list of speakers for to-day, the only Governor of a State who will address you, I feel that it is proper to say something of the revolutionary career of the little State I have the honor to represent. Rhode Island is so small, that her sons must speak when opportunity is offered them, or she may be forgotten.

The distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts who has just preceded me, has carried us back to Plymouth Rock, and referred, in glowing terms, to the sentiments of the compact on the Mayflower. I trust, sir, that I may therefore be allowed to call your attention to that glorious announcement made two hundred and forty years ago by our great founder, Roger Williams, when he proclaimed to all the world that he had established a State on the then unheard-of principle, that

"Here is an asylum where every one has the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience." This great principle antedates and underlies all political liberty; it is now recognized as the foundation of all our State Constitutions, and without its practical application, we could enjoy no real political freedom.

I claim, sir, for my little State, that her sons shed the first blood of the Revolution. On the night of the 9th of June, 1772, four years before the Declaration of Independence, about forty stalwart men gathered together in the streets of Providence, organized themselves, went down Narragansett Bay, attacked His Britannic Majesty's Sloop of War "Gaspee," wounded the commander, captured the vessel, and destroyed her before morning. This daring and successful act was undertaken by these men, with the full knowledge that, if they escaped the bullets of the enemy in front, they were liable to be hung for their disloyalty; but such was the universal sentiment of the community in their favor, that no evidence could be found to convict them. Our State was the first to move officially in favor of the creation of an American navy, and furnished the first American admiral, in the person of Esek Hopkins, who was regularly appointed by Congress to that high office. In June, 1775, one year before the Declaration, the Legislature of Rhode Island fitted out two armed vessels, and placed them under the command of Abraham Whipple, with the title of Commodore. Whipple was one of the originators and leaders of the Gaspee expedition, and a man of great energy and determined bravery. On his way to sea he fired the first regular broadside into the British fleet, lying off the harbor of Newport, that was discharged by an American naval vessel against the English navy.


There is one exploit of this man, which is so characteristic, that I trust I may be pardoned for mentioning it here. During one of his voyages, he encountered the homeward bound

Jamaica fleet, consisting of nearly 150 sail, and convoyed by several ships of war. He concealed his guns, hoisted British colors, and joined the fleet, sailing in their company several days. After nightfall each day he cautiously captured one of the vessels, manned her from his own crew, and despatched her homeward, so as to be out of sight before morning. In this way he captured ten richly laden vessels, eight of which arrived safely in American ports. A gallant exploit, worthy of emulation by our brave tars of the present day.

But, Mr. Chairman, I will not further weary you with these details; before closing, I wish to thank the men of Pennsylvania, of Philadelphia, for what they have done for this great Centennial Exhibition. It is in consequence of your liberality and untiring efforts that the Exhibition has been held. Those who live outside of your State feel this immense debt of gratitude more than you appreciate. All honor, then, to the State of Pennsylvania, to the city of Philadelphia, for their glorious work, crowned with success.

My own State has done what she could to promote the success of the Exhibition. She has sent you many specimens of the product of her industry; but, above all, she has produced that monster engine which forms such a conspicuous object in the centre of Machinery Hall, where it stands as a monument of its own magnificent proportions. With the power of more than an army with banners, it takes charge of the exhibit of the mechanical industry of the country, and sets the myriad wheels in motion contained in a space of more than fifteen acres.

In behalf of the citizens of Rhode Island, I wish to thank the authorities and citizens of Philadelphia for what you have done towards the restoration of Independence Hall. This edifice belongs not to you alone, but to the citizens of our whole country. I charge you to take care of it; let no Vandal hands, under the plea of improvement, alter or destroy its fair pro-



portions. Let it be forever preserved as we find it to-day. Every year that we go away from this anniversary, it will become more and more sacred to our children; they will come up here from all parts of our common country, draw new inspirations of patriotism from its walls, and bless God that we have such a country.

A number of national airs were then played by the band, and were loudly cheered.

Mr. Wallace then rose and said:—

Among our highest pleasures to-day is the presence of the Hon. Frederick De Peyster, of New York, and President of the Historical Society of that State; a worthy representative of that early citizen of New Amsterdam, Johannes De Peyster, distinguished for his integrity in many offices of trust under both Dutch and English Colonial rule, and with whose name you are acquainted. No worthier representative, no representative more welcome, could the Historical Society of New York send to us this day. I introduce to you with peculiar pleasure the Hon. Frederick De Peyster, of New York.

REMARKS OF MR. DE PEYSTER.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The event we are here assembled on this memorable spot to celebrate, is one that announces to the world the stability of the American Republic, tested by the century which to-morrow ushers in its successors. Where, in the vast past, is its exemplar? Its bounds are the vast oceans which roll along its extensive coasts, and nations, easterly, senile in contrast, and, westerly, creeping into maturity, realms where all is to be found, save that energy which has made our Republic what it is. Many of us who are now present, were a few minutes since in the very Hall adjacent, where the signers of the Declaration

of Independence made their names immortal, have come into this open area, where the very sun shining over us seems by his servant-rays to glow in sympathy with the enkindled flame of patriotic ardor which animates every loyal soul here and throughout this great and glorious republic.

You to-day have here already heard eloquent words in reference to the memorable individuals who participated in the "times that tried men's souls"—of the patriots who first demonstrated those vital, pregnant verities, now made deathless.

It was a memorable saying of a Lord Chancellor of England that, from the father were derived, chiefly, the moral qualities, but from the mother, the intellectual. Whether or not this saying is true or incorrect, it is not now my intention to investigate. It is here introduced, because this reflection is suggestive of a subject-matter which deserves especial consideration on an occasion so interesting as the present, when the influences which shaped, and the minds which originated, the vital measures previously mentioned, deserve especial regard.

The glorious document, the ægis of our national character, contained, as has been said, "glittering generalities." It needed, alas, the blood of patriotic men to weld the substance thus misrepresented, into adamantine solidity, perishable only with the national faith, that cannot die. And have the men of America alone wrought out these existing results? Look back upon the past, and hear the deathless notes which proclaim the mother's intellectual training of her offspring; likewise, the daughter, recalling the mother's virtuous teaching, when assuming, in her turn, the duties of a wife and mother, aid in perpetuating this influence, and assist in giving vigor to manly thought, and its teachings. Shall not the mother and the wife of the "Father of his Country" receive this day a tribute worthy of the influence which made the son and husband, "First in the hearts of his countrymen"?

The susceptible nature of the growing child, gradually influ-

enced by the tender, watchful, and judicious training of the mother, is as the plastic clay under the skilful touch of the master sculptor, taking, almost imperceptibly, its loveliest shape. The watchful care of the loving mother ever exerted to guard and keep her "jewels;" her pure and gentle counsels, and her tender admonitions, act on her offspring as the sculptor's touch upon the marble, and eventually insures an ample reward. The famed Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, furnishes us an illustration familiar to every student. Where, in the annals of the old or of the new world, shall a mother be found who can proudly, and beyond comparison, say of her son as Mary, the mother of Washington, might with truth have said of her unparalleled son, "Here is my jewel, without compare," the brightest "jewel" recorded in history.

Let us now review the circumstances which were instrumental in placing Washington in a position, resulting from the Declaration of Independence, and which eventually led to its consummation.

In America, the first attempt to secure the benefits arising from harmony of thought and action, which in a national body of earnest men is so apt to follow thorough discussion, was made by William Penn, whose ability and wisdom led him to perceive that some concert of action should be adopted for the settlement of difficulties and disputes between the provinces, and in order that their integrity as well as the safety of their inhabitants might be rendered more secure. To this end he proposed, as early as 1697, to the Board of Trade a "Plan for a Union of the Colonies in America."

The attempt of France to shut out, so to speak, the English settlements in North America from the vast opportunities for gain arising from free intercourse with the interior of the country, and the attempt of this nation to secure the aid of the Indian tribes in a contest—the result of which could not for a moment be a matter of doubt, were it not that such ad-

ventitious aid was invoked or employed—led to a proposal for a Congress (similar to that which Penn had suggested) which was originally devised by a former Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, Sir William Keith. This gentleman, in 1739, recommended to the ministry of Great Britain a method for the formation of a union of the Colonies in America, the plan proposed being that delegates from their representative bodies should unite and form a sort of general provincial government. It does not appear that either of these proposals served any other purpose than that of drawing the attention of the people to the subject.

The first actual American Congress had its origin in a recommendation from the British government, that a call be issued for a convention of delegates from the several Colonies, and naming Albany as a proper place of meeting. This call was issued in 1754, and was due to the British ministry taking alarm at the possible action of the Indian tribes, in the event of France continuing her threatening proceedings, which, though not as yet actually hostile, seemed on the eve of becoming so. The ascendancy which the French had acquired over the Indian race in America grew in proportion as they became more intimate, and with such allies as the savage warriors, the French settlers hoped to conquer their rivals, and secure possession of the entire country.

This first Congress met at Albany, the call having been addressed to the Governor of New York, and the plan of union offered by Benjamin Franklin, a delegate from Pennsylvania, was received by his colleagues, with a high degree of favor, and finally accepted. Notwithstanding this almost unanimous approval by the delegates in convention, it was rejected by the Colonies, and came to nought. It was the persistence with which the inhabitants of each colony refused to imperil its individual independence, by any concession of rights to a general government, that defeated this project. While

such a union as was proposed would have materially as well as morally strengthened the individual colonies, and enabled them the better to overcome the immediate dangers of the local situation, it would also have enabled them to assert their rights in the face of aggressive action on the part of the home government; and, indeed, the British ministry could not but regard the plan proposed by Franklin—which did not differ essentially from that previously brought forward by Penn—as other than inimical to their distant jurisdiction.

It may not be out of place to examine more fully the proceedings of this first American Congress, held over one hundred and twenty-two years ago. As has been stated, the call issued by the British Secretary of State was addressed, by order of the King, to the Governor of New York. In response to this call, there assembled at Albany, on the 19th of June, 1754, the memorable Congress of Commissioners representing every colony north of the Potomac except New Jersey, including Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, with Virginia represented in the person of the distinguished Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, of New York, who was the presiding officer. This Congress had for its chief objects the consideration of means of defence, and of entering into some treaty with the powerful Six Nations and their allied tribes. On the 24th of June a motion was made, and passed in the affirmative, that the commissioners deliver their opinion whether a union of all the Colonies is not at present absolutely necessary for their security and defence, and a committee was accordingly appointed to devise a plan. On the 28th of June this committee presented short hints of a scheme for the union. After considerable debate, the question was put on the 2d OF JULY, whether the Board should proceed to form the plan of a Union of the Colonies, to be established by an act of Parliament, and was passed in the affirmative. Debate on this

question, and on Indian affairs, engaged the attention of the Board until the 9th of July, when a plan for a union was agreed upon, and Mr. Franklin was desired to make a draft of it, as then concluded upon. On the 10th, after thorough consideration, it was resolved that the commissioners from the several governments be desired to lay the plan before their respective constituents for their consideration, and that the Secretary of this Board transmit a copy thereof to the Governor of each of the Colonies which have not sent their commissioners to this Congress. On the 11th of July, of the same year, the Congress adjourned.

After seven years of suffering, the struggle known in history as the "French War," terminated. Canada had been wrested from the French, and the Colonies had covered themselves with glory. The Home government was, however, apparently dissatisfied, its desire seeming to be that the colonists should be compelled to pay the cost of this struggle. Indeed, the most arbitrary steps were taken and insisted upon, and this, too, despite the remonstrances and appeals which poured in from every province. I am aware that the so-called "invention" of the Revolutionary committees of correspondence has been claimed for Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; but it is, nevertheless, a matter of record which cannot be disputed, that the Assembly of New York, as early as 1764, six years before the Massachusetts "invention," and nearly nine years before the movement in Virginia, appointed a committee of correspondence with the Assemblies, or committees of Assemblies throughout the Continent, with the direct and avowed purpose to avert, if possible, the "impending dangers which threatened the Colonies, of being taxed by laws to be passed in Great Britain;" and less than a year afterward sounded the keynote of the Revolution—Independence—in the publications attributed to John Morin Scott. The honored historian of America gives this fact its proper place

in his summary statement: "Virginia marshalled resistance; Massachusetts entreated union; New York pointed to independence." At last a Congress was called by the Committee of the New York Assembly, and met in New York in 1765; it was called the Stamp Act Congress, and gave utterance in a bold and decided manner to the grievances under which the colonists labored, and made an earnest declaration of rights. The resistance which was being offered to the enforced payment of a stamp duty on goods brought into the Colonies now assumed definite and permanent shape; but the announcement came from New York that she would give in her adherence to no course of action other than that inaugurated by a General Congress.

Massachusetts finally took the same view of the matter, and in September, 1774, there met in this city, what was known as the first Continental Congress. As yet, except among a few of the most dissatisfied of the colonists, there was no desire for separation from the mother country. The most visionary would hardly dare even hope for a successful independent existence. After more than a month of earnest consideration the Congress dissolved on the 26th of October, 1774. The gist of their proceedings was, First, an assertion of the equal rights of the colonists with other members of the British empire; and, Second, the passing of declarations and resolves against the importation of merchandise from abroad, which were to be rigidly and emphatically regarded. Finally, the proceeding culminated in a petition to the King, which was unsuccessful. Before adjourning, provision was made for a second Congress, to meet about a year later in the same place. When we consider the consequences resulting from this act of foresight we must regard this provision as an almost providential one, and the wisdom of the measure is certainly deserving of the most unqualified praise. An opportunity was allowed for a consideration, in England,

of the petition sent to the King, should this direct appeal to the crown fail to secure relief; then more strenuous efforts would become necessary; and what time so favorable for their inauguration as when smarting under injustice and insult?—the very hopelessness of the situation would serve as a common bond among the Colonies. Prudent, faithful, and respectful, with a full comprehension of all that was required by the occasion, there must have dawned upon even the staunchest adherents to the crown in that body the conviction that a struggle was imminent. To the dissenting there must have come a kind of secret delight that the eve of separation, the dawn of a new, untrammelled existence, was so rapidly approaching, and that speedily the wrath of an oppressed people would find vent. Despite this, however, the colonists were full of loyalty, and proud of their connection and descent, and the hope was pretty generally indulged that through the efforts of the great Whig party in England some relief or redress would be obtained, and tranquillity again restored.

Subsequent events showed how futile was any hope based on aught save the most abject submission to whatever measures, however unjust, the home government chose to impose. This ignoble alternative was, fortunately for humanity, refused, and fittingly so, by men worthy of their lineage. In 1775 all hope of a peaceable adjustment of difference had ceased. There did not, however, now take place an immediate and universal uprising of an intelligent and injured people, but a slow revulsion of feeling began to take possession of men's hearts and steadily spread throughout the land, and this feeling became so deeply intense that years of the blackest misery and privation did not suffice to extinguish it.

A glance at the situation will show that the condition of the colonists at this period was most deplorable. Surrounded, so to speak, by tribes of savages, who were so much better managed by the government than at the present day that

their allegiance to the crown could be relied on to count powerfully against the colonists should they rebel; with local assemblies no longer in accord with the people; with the daily opposition coming from the recipients of royal favor and patronage, and the dangerous hesitation—fortunately of late years almost extinct—with which the wealthy throw their influence into the scale, all combining to increase the gravity of the situation, resulted in a state of affairs sufficient to appal even the stoutest heart.

Ere the second Continental Congress had assembled, the minute-men of Lexington had set the country ablaze with patriotic fervor. The news of the battle of the 19th of April reached New York about the 23d, and electrified, as it could not well fail to do, the entire people. What now were wealth and comfort, even life itself, when their sacrifice was called for by the stern demands of right and duty? In the midst of this exciting state of affairs the second Continental Congress convened. No longer in doubt as to the course to pursue, the people everywhere urged their representatives to break the yoke that held them in slavery to the mother country. The most decided approval was given to such a course by the people of New York, and the provincial Congress of that State was petitioned to “instruct their delegates in Continental Congress to use their utmost endeavors in that august assembly to cause these United Colonies to become independent of Great Britain.”

This immortal second Continental Congress was, we see, thoroughly in consonance with the popular feeling. Unlike similar bodies in subsequent times, the individuals composing this Congress sought not their own aggrandizement, nor material benefit. Full to overflowing with the sacredness of their trust; glowing with patriotic ardor, yet deeply conscious of the gravity of their actions and the dire consequences they were probably to entail upon themselves and

upon those whom they held most dear; thoroughly satisfied that they gave expression to the will of the whole people, they made that declaration of rights and principles, and uttered that resolve to be free which, running on through a round century, has ever been to the down-trodden and oppressed a burst of light as if from the very foot of the Throne of the Most High. To the fulfilment of these resolves they pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

We have followed American Congresses from the beginning of the necessity for their existence down to the very acmé of their usefulness, attained in the instance we have just considered. Enshrined forever in the highest place in the estimation of freedom-loving mankind, let us leave the consideration of the most august and patriotic assembly of modern times, perhaps without a parallel since the assembling of the apostles around the Master, in its effects upon the welfare and elevation of the human race, and seek, by the emulation of its deeds of heroic patriotism, to reinaugurate that noble self-denial, that earnest integrity of purpose, that consideration and love for our fellow-man, which, reacting through ages, may finally fit mankind for a higher state of beatitude.

Having thus considered the origin and cause of the great results, which through the past century have flowed, with but here and there an interruption of brief duration and fortunately overcome, steadily along the stream of time down to the present day, with its glorious realization and astonishing possibilities, justice to a most important element in the consummation of these results demands a consideration of the influence exerted by woman, who, in all times and in every country, has been largely instrumental in the shaping of events. It is both instructive and interesting to trace the influence of the sex, in the earliest ages known to us, when, on an occasion like the present, a great public event was to be commemorated.

Among the ancient Hebrews, the office of announcing and celebrating good news, or glad tidings, on the occasion of any great public event, belonged, as learned men, familiar with their records declare, peculiarly to the *woman*. Not in ancient times alone has the influence of woman been felt in the affairs of nations. The history of all ages testifies to the prominent part taken by her in the shaping of events. Surely, from no more beautiful source than from the teachings of the tender mother, and the encouragement of the loving wife, could come the love of God and country; from no purer fountain on earth could flow the teachings which inculcate those noble virtues and heroic qualities which assist so mightily in the elevation of mankind. Not merely the teachings of woman, but her love and example have ever inspired to the loftiest deeds, and the most magnificent achievements. Gentle, but earnest, her counsels have always been powerful in their antagonism to oppression, cruelty, and wrong. In patriotic fervor, oftentimes excelling the male sex, tempered as were the latter by actual experience, it would seem that their very physical helplessness lent greater weight to the suggestions of their active intellects, and proud, but loving hearts. What greater incentive to valiant conduct, after a knowledge of the demands of his country, can be conceived, than the Spartan soldier received from his mother, when, leaving her side for the field of battle, he received from her, with his shield, the parting injunction to return "with it, or on it."

Is it possible that any one will challenge the claim thus made, and which concedes the powerful influence of woman? Scarcely! for has not every soldier had one, if not both of these blessings—a beloved mother, or a beloved wife? Who does not know their power as pleaders, when enlisted by sympathy with a good cause?

"Like rainbows on the cloud of war,
The harbingers of victory."

As I have referred to these portents of the sky, let me close the thought thus suggested with the adjuration of Æneas, when he was about to wage a war which he deemed just.

“Ye springs, ye floods, ye various powers that lie
Beneath the deep, or tread the golden sky,
Hear and attest.”

The Centennial Ode, written by S. C. Upham, music by Adam Geibel, was then sung by the chorus, after which Mr. Wallace came to the stand and said:—

Our hope was that the distinguished and eloquent Mr. Lamar, of Mississippi, would be with us to-day, but a telegram just received from him states that he has been taken ill, and obliged to leave the cars at Wilmington, on his journey hitherward. I present to you in his stead the Hon. Francis Putnam Stevens, of Maryland, who, in his office of Chairman of the Centennial Committee of Maryland, has done so much to attach our citizens to him, and to bring to this venerable spot from that State which I have named, so many sons of those honorable fathers who bore a great part in what was done here a century ago.

REMARKS OF MR. STEVENS.

I have been accorded an honor of which I am deeply sensible. I had not the most remote idea of addressing this vast assemblage until this moment. I had come to deposit my brief memoir of John Henry, Jr., of Maryland, in the old Chamber of Liberty, and to be but a silent participant in the exercises of the day.

I cannot expect to fill the place of the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, who has been unavoidably prevented from being present. But upon an occasion like this, with the grand memories of the past, made glorious by the acts of our forefathers just one hundred years ago, in yonder building;

with the great gathering of the people to inaugurate the festivities of the National birthday, I cannot be silent; the very stones would cry out if America's sons, on this great day, should refuse to speak.

Your President and Committee have bestowed a high compliment upon the State of which I am an humble representative. Maryland greets you all to-day. Truly, Pennsylvania is the *keystone*, but we, of Maryland, one of the original thirteen, are an integral part of the great arch, equally as important to the strength and solidity of the whole.

The Governor of Rhode Island has referred to the sentiments of Roger Williams, and spoken in eulogy of his State. Roger Williams, William Penn, and Lord Baltimore went hand in hand in the same great cause. Massachusetts has spoken through her distinguished representative to-day, and we honor the old Bay State for her noble part in the struggle for independence, but, Mr. President, a proud record remains for Maryland.

The Ark and the Dove upon the peaceful shores of St. Mary's, landed our Pilgrim fathers; the standard which Constantine saw in the heavens was planted upon the soil of Maryland, and the ensign of civil and religious liberty was there unfurled first among the Colonies. Maryland bore an honorable part in the effort that made these Colonies a free and independent people; and upon the very day you here commemorate, her representatives, in Congress assembled, cast a *unanimous vote* in favor of Richard Henry Lee's resolution, "*that these Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.*" Maryland, through her representative, Thomas Johnson, Jr., nominated in those halls George Washington to be Commander-in-Chief of "the armies raised and to be raised," and to-day her monumental city points with just pride to the noble shaft she alone has reared to his memory. She sent here such representatives as Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Henry, Jr.,

Thomas Johnson, Jr., Thomas Stone, and William Paca. She boasts "The old Maryland line," with Howard, Williams, Gist, Smallwood, and others; she gave you the first telegraphic wire, the first canal, and the first steam passenger railway. It was Maryland that gave to you, and to the world, your national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner." There the Continental Congress met; there Washington resigned his commission.

But why enumerate the glories of Maryland? This is a national occasion. We are here on this great anniversary from the North and South as brethren. I need not refer to the deeds of Maryland, but I would say of her as Webster said of Massachusetts: "She needs no eulogium; there she stands; look at her."

I rejoice that we meet, not as citizens of any State, but as citizens of this greatest of Republics. There was a time when it was said, "to be a Roman citizen, was greater than to be a king." The time will come when it shall be greater than to have been a *Roman*, to be a citizen of these United States.

We all rejoice on this glad day together, from the North, the South, the East, and the West, in this land of liberty, that the precepts of our fathers have made and preserved us a nation, and God grant that, when the two hundredth anniversary of America's freedom shall dawn, it shall find us all a happy and united people.

The Centennial hymn by Fennimore was then sung by the chorus. At its conclusion Mr. Wallace rose and said:—

You have heard from Massachusetts, from Rhode Island, from New York, and from Maryland. You shall now hear from the State which welcomes you all this day. To citizens of Pennsylvania I need *not* introduce the speaker. We all know him. We all admire his talents and his accomplishments of many kinds. To the citizens of other States and of foreign

countries I beg to introduce the Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster, lately the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania.

REMARKS OF MR. BREWSTER.

The remarks I shall make must of necessity be confined to a simple subject, and a few reflections. We do not meet to argue or discuss. We do not meet to enforce opinions, and solicit public action in support of doctrines, but we meet to testify our sense of gratitude for the public liberties we possess, and the social and domestic comforts we enjoy, the fruit of the courage and wisdom of our forefathers.

Citizens from other States are here who have united with us in these great ceremonies; others are here who will succeed me, and I must be cautious, in this my home, not to occupy that time which hospitality requires I should leave open to them.

When I have recalled the incidents of our history from the earliest days of colonial existence to the blessed hour when it was solemnly declared that we were, "and of right ought to be, free and independent States," I have observed that, in all of the great events where public order, private right, or public duty was the subject of popular action, they proceeded with deliberation, and with a rigid regard to the strict forms of legislative order, and of public legal enactment. There was no mere insurrectionary spirit in the men from whom we inherit the liberties and the government we now possess. Our ancestors were no insurgents. No element of the conspirator, outlaw, or communist was a part of their natures. They were serious, God-fearing, God-loving men, and from the beginning had solemn work to do, and they knew it, and within the strictest forms of legal order they asserted their natural and legal rights. They had known the harsh usage of adversity; they had felt its discipline. Many of them possessed that

knowledge which is the fruit of study, learning, and experience, and they all bowed with submission before the obligations of religion, and acknowledged the supremacy of public will.

The first act done by the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, and just before they landed, was the organization of their form of government.

Let me read to you this remarkable paper, that you may hear and know how cautious, how formal, and how earnest were those men. "In the name of God! Amen: we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, King James, having undertaken for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

On the 11th of November, 1620, in the cabin of the Mayflower, before they had placed their feet on this Continent, did these true men—forty-one in number—for themselves and their families, one hundred in all, thus formally bind themselves to obey the law. They had fled from oppression; oppression inflicted in the name of the law. Sixty-three days had they been tossed upon the bosom of that rough sea, and in the dark November days were they about to make their homes on a bleak and barren coast. A pitiless winter was before them, a raging ocean behind them, and a wilderness for their dwelling-place. They gave no thought to physical discomforts, but with deliberation did they thus sit down and first consider their

public and social duties, and thus bind themselves to obey the law, for they knew that from order and obedience only could individual happiness and social prosperity come. They had suffered by the abuse of the law; but they revered obedience to that law, which is the product of public will.

Thus was it with all the Colonies in all their actions; in their domestic contentions, as well as in their disputes with the mother country, were the constituted forms of legal enactment, legal obedience, and legal resistance adhered to.

I have no recollection of such public records in the history of any other people. It is peculiar to us. It is a part of the glory of our career, that the pen has ever been mightier than the sword. While we have perpetuated in our annals the formal declarations of our principles and our acts, so have we likewise in the same way embalmed in our history the living words recorded at the time, which were to protect us, and teach mankind through us the doctrines we had maintained and the liberties we have secured.

With us the sword was only drawn to justify the written word, that uttered the convictions of the very souls of our great ancestors.

This thought I shall not further follow by reciting each incident of public action, for the time will not permit me so to do. The incidents illustrating the fact are too numerous to repeat. When in the fulness of time our grievances had ripened into wrongs, and the attempt to enforce the royal will had degenerated into acts of oppression, then too, step by step as we approached the great crisis of our separation did the people at various times and in different places publish and declare, in formal and apt words as were thereafter published and declared here, by the Continental Congress, that we were free, and of right ought to be free and independent States.

Whatever those men had to do they did publicly—formally—lawfully. Before the outbreak of the war, they remon-

strated in resolutions reciting public grievances. They sent Commissioners to London to assert our rights and resist aggression. When the collision was inevitable, like an assemblage of ambassadors the delegates from the Colonies came together to consider the remedies they demanded and resist the wrongs they complained of. And by these men was first enacted the resolution that absolved us from our allegiance. And then after that was published the act of separation—that document known and called the Declaration of Independence—a document that contains more daring and self-demonstrating propositions in favor of human rights than were ever before pronounced to mankind by philosophers or statesmen.

Our mission was one of liberty, law, and public order—the rational liberty of freemen restrained by a sense of duty and obedience to law—and that rule have we lived by to this day.

The law has been the only compensation to mankind for political tyranny in the darkest hours the world ever knew. It must be supreme—for then God is supreme. “For, he who entrusts man with supreme power gives it to a wild beast—for such his appetites sometimes make him. Passion, too, influences those who are in power—even the very best of men—for which reason the law is intellect free from appetite.”

Again recurring to the thought I started with, let me speak to you, and through you to the millions of our people whose hearts are with us this day, and whose souls exult at the moral and intellectual grandeur of our history, and at the inevitable splendor of our great future. Let me congratulate you that we came of such a lineage of heroic men—the statesmen of the human race—who loved God, as He is the father of natural liberty—the liberty of obedience to law and subordination to natural and social duty. Let me congratulate you that a hundred years of such national life has brought us to this point of national glory, the peaceful glory of a prosperous people of forty millions who sprang from the few who

sought refuge here, and here erected a temple of human rights into which all men who love law and obey order can enter and find happiness and peace.

It would seem as if Milton, who had battled for the rights of those exiles who were our forefathers, had predicted the creation and growth of this people. Listen to him, and hear the words of that old, blind republican, who spake as man never before spake, and who was himself one of the greatest apostles of human rights. Listen to him:—

“Methinks I see in my own mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking his invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beams, purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance.”

As he predicted, so do we now live and act, and may it last thus forever!

Mr. Wallace now rose again, and turning to the gentlemen who composed the Congress of Authors, thanked them in the name of Col. Etting and of the City Authorities of Philadelphia, in the name of the Committee on the National Centennial Commemoration, and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, “and,” said he, “I think I may venture to say, in the name of the august Genius of History itself,” for the most valuable contribution which, in response to Col. Etting’s invitation, they had made to the historical riches of the Republic.

At the conclusion of these remarks, Mr. Conly sang, with the highest effect, the Star Spangled Banner, the chorus to which was sung not less impressively by the Musical Association. Mr. Conly, being encored, repeated the last verse.

When the sound of this beautiful solo, and of the applauses

which it brought forth, had died away, Mr. Wallace came forward and said:—

South Carolina meant to be with us this day in the person of the Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, D.D., of Charleston. Of what family *he* is, and what is the honor of that name, which, in its whole length, he bears, I need tell no American whatever. No more patriotic family than that of the Pinckneys ever belonged to our country, and it never had any more brave, disinterested, unaffected, and honorable member than the gallant General whose name is now borne by his namesake, a soldier of the Cross. You all know how, in 1798, in our threatened war of that day with France, when a question of military precedence rose between General Knox and other generals, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney sought—though Washington wished *him* high in command—to prefer others in honor to himself. “Put me anywhere,” he said, “where I can serve the country.” The same disinterested spirit exhibited itself in 1812, when a pure and patriotic political party desired to make him their candidate for the Presidency of the United States; an honor which he declined, because he thought that another was more fit for it; “the man,” as our own late honored citizen, Charles Chauncey, characterized him at a dinner given in compliment to him in 1812—“the man whose love of honor was greater than his love of power, and deeper than his love of self.” I grieve to say that, owing to an accident to the steamer on which the Rev. Mr. Pinckney is, on his way here—and of which a telegram apprises us—the reverend gentleman can hardly arrive before this evening; later than he expected to be with us.

I will, therefore, ask the Right Reverend William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D, the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and the official successor in the Episcopate of Pennsylvania, of the good and patriotic Bishop White, Chaplain both to the Continental

Congress and to the Congress of the United States, to dismiss us with a benediction.

The Right Reverend gentleman then came upon the stand, and amidst a profound and reverent silence, dismissed, with the well-known apostolic words, the vast assemblage.

FINIS.



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